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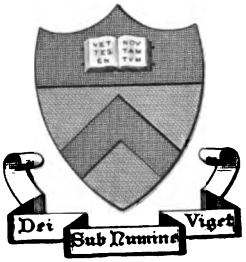

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

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DR. JOHNSON, SENTIMENTALISM AND ROMANTICISM

PERCY H. HOUSTON

Dr. Johnson has so long stood as the exemplar of critical perverseness that any study of incipient romanticism in his writings would seem almost superfluous. Had he not, forsooth, gone on record as the worst of critics by that most outrageous of all criticisms, the *Life of Gray*? Was he not blind to the beauties of Shakespeare; had he not proved himself utterly devoid of taste in his attack on *Lycidas;* can anyone, in short, explain his numerous critical blunders on any grounds other than stark insensibility to all that we think of as poetry? But to those of us who know and love him well enough to relish even his absurdities, he stands for much more than can be briefly expressed. We know, for example, that he stands for solid learning, for huge common sense, for hatred of all falseness and sham. We feel that a man of Johnson's comprehensive soul does not permit himself to be circumscribed by one particular school of criticism. If it is true that in general he remains the great expositor of neo-classic ideals, it is just as true that his rough manners concealed a nature as tender as any woman's, and a heart as big as England itself.

As we turn to a consideration of his relation to contemporary literary and social movements, it will be necessary to distinguish between the sentimentalism, which had been gradually undermining the hold of the older culture

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upon the people; and the new romanticism, growing in part out of the sentimental point of view in nearly all phases of life, but due to a greater degree, perhaps, to a more or less conscious reaction from literary artificiality and conventionalized literary expression.

If we accept Arnold's definition of the sentimental as a readiness to react from the despotism of fact, and Woodsworth's "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" as one approximation of the word romantic, we may arrive at some working distinction between these two much-discussed terms. Obviously, this distinction falls short in many ways, inasmuch as the truly romantic point of view involves much of what we have called sentimental; yet by limiting the sentimental to the petty discontent with small things and the conscious cultivation of individual emotions and the search for mere novelty to gratify a childish desire for change, we may gain a little more light. The difference is evidently quantitative; true romanticism being stronger, freer, more powerful in the expression of profounder emotions. In a word, it is essentially the distinction between artificiality and spontaneity, between frigidity and true inspiration that we are seeking to make.

Toward the first of these movements Johnson's attitude was entirely clear. He was a man clinging to old doctrines and old customs, and seeing in the gradual change of points of view one of the grave dangers to established institutions. He accepted the orthodox creed as the basis for his religious faith; a confirmed Tory in politics, he went so far as to defend the measures of the Government against the American rebels; and in literature he in the main upheld established principles. His own painful struggle to emerge from poverty had deepened in him the intense but somewhat rigid emotions with which nature had endowed him. His life in a garret as hack-writer for the booksellers and his long years of toil on the *Dictionary* were not likely to instill in his mind those complacent fallacies about the essential goodness of human nature, the beauty of virtue, or the

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harmony of natural laws which Shaftesbury found so easy of utterance. That he did rise from his early miserable existence with as tolerant an attitude toward human nature as he had reflects a world of credit on his innate sense of values. But the iron had entered his soul, and he approached questions of human conduct in the light of a terrible experience, which had given him an insight into human motives such as no mere academic theory could have done. Vividly conscious of the pettiness of our lives and the narrow limits of human knowledge, he was content to leave the mystery of final causes to a power higher than his; for God's purposes are inscrutable, and man's aim in this earthy existence should be to seek laws by which he may best prepare himself to meet the divine mercy. Hence his deep interest in moral laws and his search for precepts by which he might aid his fellowmen in their preparation for eternity.

His two imitations of Juvenal, composed before he had emerged from his early life of poverty, were the finest expression of temperamental pessimism which had yet been uttered in English poetry, giving classic form to the author's sense of the futility of human endeavor and the nothingness of life's offerings. His two periodicals, the *Rambler,* published 1750-52, during his work upon the *Dictionary,* and the later *Idler,* 1758-60, the papers of which were written after Johnson had ceased from his labors and was sinking into a dangerous contentment, reflect the somber view which he habitually took of human life and conduct. As one turns the pages of these ponderous volumes, he comes to feel that behind the massive style and the formal presentation of precept and maxim there really was a profoundly serious nature expressing the results of a vital experience. Moral truths, enforced by precept and example, are their chief content. The very titles of these eighteenth century homilies indicate their author's motive in writing. A few citations will illustrate this: (R. 28) The various arts of self-delusion; (32) Necessity of patience; (7) Re-

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tirement natural to a great mind; (47) Proper means of regulating sorrow; (175) The majority are wicked; (196) Human opinions mutable; Hopes of youth fallacious; (192) Love unsuccessful without riches; (89) Luxury of a vain imagination;[1] etc. There is no doubt whatever of his attitude toward conduct in these literary sermons, and it is hardly necessary to quote from them to show their character. Johnson looked upon human nature as something plastic, which could be moulded for the better or the worse according as the will was strong or weak. The ancient Christian discipline was one of the instruments for strengthening the will, and this he preached in his reflections.

Perhaps the most characteristic expression of his views is to be found in *Rasselas,* written in 1759 in the evenings of one week to pay the expenses of his mother's funeral. Unlike *Candide,* Voltaire's contemporary performance, the pessimism did not strike at the roots of religion and morality, but the fact of human misery was stated as something to be faced without questioning God's ultimate purposes. In the conclusion, in which nothing is concluded, the pilgrims return to the Happy Valley, there to prepare as best they may to meet the approach of death. "To me," said the Princess, "the choice of life is become less important; I hope hereafter to think only on the choice of eternity."

Johnson's love of truth and his own patient endurance of his lot made him look upon the complaints of the man of feeling as hardly more than expression, of common cant. "I hate a complainer," he once exclaimed. When Mrs. Thrale was lamenting the death of a cousin in America he cried: "Prithee, my dear, have done with canting; how

[1] "But study requires solitude, and solitude is a state dangerous to those who are too much accustomed to sink into themselves. . . . It happens, indeed, that these hypocrites of learning are in time detected, and convinced by disgrace and disappointment of the difference between the labour of thought, and the sport of musing. But this discovery is often not made until it is too late to recover the time that has been fooled away."

[2] Johnsonian Miscellanies, ed. G. B. Hill, II, 140.

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would the world be the worse for it, I may ask, if all your relations were at once spitted like larks and roasted for Presto's supper."[3] "These are the distresses of sentiment," he said on another occasion, "which a man who is really to be pitied has no license to feel. The sight of people who want food and raiment is so common in our great cities, that a surly fellow like me has no time for compassion for wounds given only to vanity or softness."[4] That the poor and the busy had no time for sentimental sorrow,[5] was his comment upon his friends who were too feeling for his rugged nature. His explanation of this apparent insensibility to the distresses of others is contained in the following comment upon unrestrained emotions: "You will find these very people are not ready to do you good. They *pay* you by *feeling*."[6] And yet he could say that the death of his mother was one of the few calamities upon which he thought with terror.[7] His romantic love for "Dear Tetty" and the pathetic prayers composed upon the anniversaries of her death, which he always kept with fasting, are testimony to the deep underlying tenderness in his nature. Far too few of his friends penetrated beneath the rough exterior to find the warmth and sympathy really there.

It can be readily seen, then, that he did not look with complacency upon the facile attempts of the Pope-Shaftesbury school of morality to explain away the misery of the world. In the *Life of Pope* he reduces Pope's fine couplets to their original commonplaces, shows their want of novelty, and proves the feebleness of their application.[8] Neither did

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 109.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 206. See also Bos. (Hill) II, 337. "Sir, it is affectation to pretend to feel the distresses of others as much as they do themselves. It is equally so if one should pretend to feel as much pain while a man's leg is cutting off as he does."

[5] Misc. I, 252.

[6] Misc. II, 95.

[7] Letters, ed. G. B. Hill I, 20.

[8] Lives III, 242-3.

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he endure the self-assured ease with which the advocates of a mechanical universe attempted to account for the world of things as they are. His review of Soame Jenyns's *Free Inquiry Into the Nature and Origins of Evil*[9] remains one of the most vigorous denunciations of naturalistic pessimism ever penned.

He looked upon Rousseau and his fine-spun theories concerning the corruption of civilized society as dangerous to the very existence of the established order. "Rousseau," he said, "is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation than that of any felon who has gone forth from the Old Bailey these many years. Yes, I should like to have him work in the plantations."[10] He was a rascal to be hunted out of society;[11] one who knew he was talking nonsense and laughed at the old world for staring at him.[12] He and all those who dealt in paradoxes were led away by the childish desire for novelty.[13] Novelty and innovation were gradually breaking down the barriers of conservatism in politics and morals and religion. Most schemes of political improvement were at best laughable things,[14] and even Tyburn itself was not free from its fury.[15]

Of professions of liberty and equality he was profoundly skeptical. Anything undermining subordination was to his mind dangerous in the extreme; hence his repugnance not only to Rousseau but to the demagogue Wilkes. In writing of Thomson's *Ode on Liberty,* he describes certain manifestations of this quality as "a zeal which sometimes disguises from the world, and not rarely from the mind which it possesses, an envious desire of plundering wealth or degrading greatness; and of which the immediate tendency

[9] Works VI, 66 ff.
[10] Bos. II, 13.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, 13.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, 85.
[13] *Ibid.*, I, 510.
[14] *Ibid.*, II, 118.
[15] Bos. IV, 217.

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is innovation and anarchy, an impetuous eagerness to subvert and profound, with very little care what shall be established."[16] This observation is as true today as it ever was in the years preceding the French Revolution.

His opinions on the various objects of sentimental enthusiasm show how far away he really was from that point of view. First of all, his opinion of sentimental virtue, that innate purity of soul, contact with which will reform the hardened rake and bring tears of repentance to the eyes of the confirmed sinner. Of books which exalt this type of virtue he has expressed his contempt: "Narratives of romantick and impracticable virtue will be read with wonder, but that which is unattainable is recommended in vain; that good may be endeavored, it must be shewn to be possible."[17] Mr. William Seward, in his *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons,* II, 461, tells how Dr. Johnson used to advise his friends to be on their guard against romantic virtue, as being founded on no settled principle. "A plank," he said, "that is tilted up at one end must of course fall down on the other."[18] Principles founded on right living were his guides to conduct and the only reliable way to true virtue.

For the sentimental doctrines of natural affection, savage nobility, and the equality of man he ever expressed his hearty scorn. Once when Boswell was arguing for the existence of natural affection, he exclaimed: "Sir, natural affection is nothing; but affection from principle and established duty is sometimes wonderfully strong." And as one of the company contended that a hen will feed her chickens in preference to herself, he broke out with: "But we don't know that the hen is hungry; let the hen be fairly hungry, and I'll warrant she'll pick the corn herself." Boswell—"But some of the Indians have affection." Johnson—"Sir, that they help some of their children is plain;

[16] Lives III, 411.
[17] *Ibid.*, III, 173.
[18] Bos. VI, X.

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for some of them live, which they could not do without being helped."[19] Pity, to his mind, was not natural to man, and children were always cruel. "We may have uneasy sensations from seeing a creature in distress, without pity; for we have not pity unless we wish to relieve them."[20] This remark is the best possible criticism of the fatal weakness of sentimentalism.

Upon the subject of savage happiness he was equally emphatic. "Do not allow yourself, sir," he said to Boswell the sentimentalist, "to be imposed upon by such gross absurdity. It is sad stuff; it is brutish. If a bull could speak, he might as well exclaim, 'Here am I with this cow and this grass; what being can enjoy greater felicity?'"[21] The great talker, who loved to fold his legs and have out his talk, appears in the following scornful remark: "Now what a wretch he must be, who is content with such conversation as can be had among savages."[22] He maintained, too, that were we all on an equality, we should have no other enjoyment than mere animal pleasure.[23]

His contempt for the sentimental attack upon the evils of luxury led him rather too far in its defense. The dread of it was visionary;[24] no nation was ever hurt by it; even much good follows in its wake in the shape of improvements and conveniences.[25] This is doubtless bad political economy, but from Johnson's particular angle it was common sense. He may have had *The Deserted Village* of his friend Goldsmith in mind when he made these attacks. It is interesting to note that he corrected *The Village* of the poet Crabbe.[26]

[19] *Ibid.*, IV, 243
[20] *Ibid.*, I, 506.
[21] Bos. II, 262. See also Bos. II, 82.
[22] Bos. V, 229.
[23] *Ibid.*, I, 512.
[24] *Ibid.*, II, 195.
[25] *Ibid.*, III, 64.
[26] Bos. IV, 202.

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It is not to be supposed, however, that a man of large intellectual and emotional nature shall be any one thing with entire consistency; it is sufficient that his views of life shall predominantly be taken from one position and not stray too far from it. His departure from common sense in his acceptance of Nahun Tate's remaking of *King Lear* is perhaps the most notorious instance of the man of feeling struggling against his better judgment. His one or two other lapses into sentimentalism deserve review.

This lapse into sentimentalism, leading him straight into the deepest of neo-classical pits, quite contrary to Aristotle, was no doubt due to his strong sympathy for Cordelia and his pious wish to see virtue triumphant. That this defense of poetic justice was but a lapse is made evident by a restatement of tragic law in the *Life of Rowe*. Here he admits that since wickedness often prospers in real life and since poetry is an imitation of reality, a *mirror of life*, it ought to show us sometimes what we are to expect.

He once said to Mrs. Sheridan, mother of the dramatist and author of a novel entitled *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*, which Boswell describes as the journal of an amiable and pious heroine, who goes to her grave unrelieved, but resigned and full of hope of Heaven's mercy: "I know not, madam, that you have a right, upon moral principles, to make your readers suffer so much."[27] This novel, indeed, is sentimental only in its tender overflow of emotion and could easily appeal to a man of Johnson's conscious moral nature. He knew and liked Mrs. Sheridan, and perhaps complimented her for that reason.[28]

Far more important, however, is his attitude toward the two great novelists, Richardson and Fielding. The former, it must be remembered, was a personal friend, having served him on one occasion when he was in pecuniary distress. His preference for Richardson's art lies in the fact that his minute study of the human heart was in his view of greater

[27] Bos. I, 451.

[28] See Bos. II, 57.

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importance than Fielding's immensely more vital creations, which he refused to understand. To his mind there was more knowledge of the heart revealed in one letter of Richardson than in all of *Tom Jones*.[29] There was, again, as great a difference between them as between a man who knew how a watch was made and a man who could tell the hour by looking on a dial plate.[30] These are criticisms of the artistic merit of the two authors, but there can hardly be any question that the judgment was founded on moral grounds. Johnson wilfully turned from the "barren rascal," and the "blockhead,"[31] who had so violently shocked his moral sense.

That Johnson approved of Richardson's moral teachings can be made apparent by one or two brief quotations from Boswell. He was "an author who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue."[32] At the same time, with his usual insight the critic was able to point out the real merit of Richardson's work: "Why, sir, if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so great that you would hang yourself. But you must read him for the sentiment, and consider the story as only giving occasion to the sentiment."[33] This is a just remark, and it indicates the abiding appeal *Clarissa Harlowe*, at least, has had not only for sentimentalists but for all men with broad literary sympathies. The interminable dissection of the minutest emotions and the over-subtle analysis of petty feelings evident to modern readers did not tend to turn the eighteenth century moralists away from it.

An explanation of Johnson's inclination to Richardson's sentiment can be found in one of the papers of the *Rambler*,

[29] *Ibid.*, II, 200.

[30] *Ibid.*, II, 200. See *Ibid.*, II, 55, for Johnson's distinction between the characterization of Richardson and Fielding.

[31] Bos. II, 199.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 235. See also *Ibid.*, II, 200. Richardson the greatest genius which had shed its lustre on this path of literature.

[33] Bos. II, 200-1.

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No. 4, written while interest in this new literary form was yet fresh. By 1750 enough imitations of the story of the sentimental heroine in distress had appeared for Johnson to describe them as exhibitions of life in its true state, "diversified only by accidents that daily happen in the world, and influenced by passions and qualities which are really to be found in conversing with mankind." He terms this departure the comedy of romance and wishes to apply to it the rules of comic poetry. But because these narrations are written for the young, the ignorant, and the idle, for those uninformed by experience, the author's task should be not merely to present the most perfect idea of virtue, but so to display vice as always to disgust, that the young may not receive any moral corruption from the splendor of successful wickedness. "It is therefore to be steadily inculcated, that virtue is the highest proof of understanding, and the only solid basis of greatness; and that vice is the natural consequence of narrow thoughts; that it begins in mistake, and ends in ignominy."

All this is almost exclusively moral. The author cannot forget his mission as preceptor of the English middle class, never realizing that the lack of vital interest in the kind of books of which he approved would deprive them of any real moral effect. It will be noticed, moreover, that he did not apply to them the rules of comedy, as Fielding did in his novels, but rather those of the epic, which, according to such standards as Le Bossu had laid down, should represent perfect ideas of virtue and disapproval of wickedness, that the primary effect might be instruction before it is pleasure.[34]

These, then, were Johnson's reasons for his prejudice against Fielding. He scarcely knew a more corrupt book than *Tom Jones,* which no modest lady should read,[35] and yet he was broad enough in his tastes to read *Amelia* through

[34] See Lives II, 67.

[35] Bos. II, 199.

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without stopping.[36] His dislike for *Tom Jones* was partly, no doubt, the reaction of a man of sound moral principles from the author's sympathy for his hero and his unfortunate lapse into sentimentalism at the conclusion, where the reprobate Tom is given Sophia as a reward for his escapades; but it depends just as much upon his disgust at Fielding's unadorned painting of the natural man as he had known him. Johnson's conventional morality did not permit him to see the infinite superiority of this kind of realism over Richardson's more minute but more sickly studies in the female heart when under persecution from the other sex. Probably, too, much of his objection to Fielding was for his violation of that decorum upon which polite society of the time was built. Fielding to Johnson's mind was "low," and he quotes Richardson as saying that had he not known who Fielding was, he should have believed he was an hostler."[37] This criticism is not so creditable to Johnson's perception of values as his other insistence on moral purpose.

After all, one can only regret that two men of such strong sense and real insight into human nature as Johnson and Fielding could not have been more in sympathy. That they were not is due to the narrowness and, shall we say, the conventionality of Johnson's moral principles.

This discussion of Johnson's rather self-evident position upon the subject of sentimentalism has been necessary in order to indicate his approach to what has been called the romantic revival in the last half of the century. A man living in the midst of a gradual change of literary ideals could hardly be expected to distinguish between the more and the less vital characteristics of the movement. Johnson saw the dangerous increase of that sentimentalism which he condemned as fatal to all the institutions upon which he set store; he recognized in the odes of Gray, in the imitations of Spenser, in the popularity of the Ossianic poems, in the ballad revival, and in the return to mediaeval literature

[36] *Ibid.*, III, 49.

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signs of a revolt against conventional standards; and he confused the true with the false in his opposition to the new order.

In principle certainly, he recognized the claims of the imagination, granting to the poet in his moments of inspiration a freedom from the restrictions of formal rule. "It is not by comparing line by line," he declares in the *Life of Dryden,* "that the merit of great works is to be estimated, but by their general effects and ultimate result." His great *Preface* to Shakespeare, almost Longinian in scope, contains many passages of a breadth of view surprising to those who view our critic through the distorting spectacles of Macaulay. "When the fancy is once on the wing," he says, "let it not stoop at correction or explanation . . . there is a kind of intellectual remoteness necessary for the comprehension of any great work in its full design and its true proportions; a close approach shows the smaller nicetie, but the beauty of the whole is discerned no longer." Certainly a most wholesome attitude for a Shakespearean editor to take.

But that he could at times feel that indescribable power of the grand style which strikes the mind, elevates the feelings, and leaves the reader in a state of exaltation, may be proved by references to various passages in his works.

He speaks (R. 37) of wonder as a pause of reason, a cessation of the mental progress, which loses its power as soon as the mind again assumes its proper functions. He admits that works of imagination are often influenced by causes out of the performer's power of control,[38] though he elsewhere restricts his position somewhat when he observes that those performances which strike with wonder are combinations of skillful genius with happy casualty.[39] One statement, that the beauties of writing are often such that they cannot be evinced by evidence or drawn out by demon-

[37] Bos. II, 199.

[38] Lives III, 268.

[39] Lives III, 239.

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strations and are consequently subject wholly to the imagination,[40] comes dangerously near to romantic doctrine. It was, of course, tempered by words more acceptable to the neo-classical mind. Finally, he says of the metaphysical poets that the sublime was no more within their power than the pathetic; "for they never attempted that comprehension and expansion of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the first effect is sudden astonishment, and the second rational admiration."[41]

If we put the foregoing beside his splendid attack upon the Unities of Time and Place in the modern drama and his continued hostility to all forms of pastoral imitation, Spenserian and otherwise, we come to the astonishing conclusion that Johnson was no small factor in clearing the way for new forms of literary expression. Simply one more of life's little ironies.

His inexcusably violent and dogmatic assault upon Gray in his *Life of Gray* reveals, however, his uncomfortable feeling that the forces of revolt were gathering headway. I have no doubt that he sincerely looked upon the "Wonderful Wonder of Wonders," the two sister *Odes* as so many glittering accumulations of ungraceful ornaments," magnified by affectation and labored into harshness. "Double, double, toil and trouble . . . His art and his struggle are too visible, and there is too little appearance of ease and nature,"[42] By attacking this "cumbrous splendour which we wish away," and by noting the improprieties of language in the two odes, he has, without question, put his finger upon their great weakness. The declamation and the ornamentation of their style he traced to the sentimental search for novelty which he also condemned in the poems of Ossian. Without knowing it, he was hitting at the pseudo-romanticism, the external romantic trappings which to a large degree these odes represent. But what

[40] R. 93.

[41] Lives I, 20-1.

[42] Lives III, 440.

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he failed to find in them is the fine fervor which carries the reader along in a whirl of enthusiasm past all obstructions of conventional imagery. The noble evolution of thought in the *Progress of Poesy* and the dramatic force and romantic wildness of setting of the *Bard* also escaped his eminently reasonable mind. He would regulate the poetic imagination by the standard of methodical argumentation and accuracy of detail. He confused the logic of the mind with the higher logic of the imagination, which neglects precise accuracy to gain the more important harmony of poetic effect. There must be a certain sympathy between author and critic to create a fair attitude toward his work, and this Johnson, trained in the rational school of Pope, refused to grant to Gray.[43] This, however, he was glad to do for the *Elegy,* whose fine classical feeling and appeal to universal human emotions met with his cordial approval.

One wonders if Johnson could under any circumstances have appreciated a sustained lyric effort when one finds him saying: "No poem should be long of which the purpose is only to strike the fancy by precept, ratiocination and deduction,"[44] It seems to accord with the impression one gets that however capable Johnson was in certain aspects of his criticism, he never could have been well qualified as a judge of lyric poetry.[45] His general truths are salutary and sound, but we may easily see in his criticisms of Shakespeare's poetry how little able he was to apply them wisely. Furthermore, his admiration for the following lines in Grainger's *Ode to Solitude* and his exclamation, "This, sir, is very noble," is a fair example of his taste in lyric poetry:

[43] See Bos. I, 322; III, 241; III, 100 for further expressions of Johnson's contempt for Gray's poetry. See also Misc. I, 191 for a burlesque of Gray's manner.

[44] Lives II, 263.

[45] R. 158.

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"O Solitude, romantick maid,
Whether by nodding trees you tread;
Or haunt the desart's trackless gloom,
Or hover o'er the yawning tomb;
Or climb the Andes clifted side,
Or by the Nile's coy shore abide;
Or, starting from your half-year's sleep,
From Hecla view the thawing deep;
Or, at the purple dawn of day,
Tadmor's marble waste survey" . . .[46]

Here we have ideas as general as you please, clothed in language of chill declamation and dull monotony. But they are in couplets, and they violate no laws of diction or versification. The man who could say that when one is tired of London he is tired of life might conceivably find solace in such frigidity.

For the same reason that he fell foul of Gray's incipient romanticism, he looked askance at the efforts of the worthy brothers Warton to revive a more genuine feeling in poetic expression. To Johnson's self-contained critical mind Joseph Wharton was "an enthusiast by rule," whose taste was amazement.[47] When Boswell wondered at the long delay in the continuation of *The Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, Johnson replied that perhaps the author found himself a little disappointed in not having been able to persuade the world to be of his opinion as to Pope. Whatever this mildly revolutionary review of the great master of correctness indicated as to the drift of popular sentiment away from him, Johnson steadily refused to admit any such reaction, though the lavish praise which he gave to his idol in the *Life of Pope* must have proved that he felt the necessity of some kind of formal defense.[48]

He was never tired of parodying Thomas Warton's verse. On one occasion he observed that a gentleman of eminence in literature had got into a bad style of poetry of late.

[46] Bos. III, 224.
[47] Bos. III, 224.
[48] Bos. III, 332.

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"He puts," said he, "a very common thing in a strange dress, till he does not know it himself, and thinks other people do not know it."[49] Then follow these verses:

> "Wheresoe'er I turn my view,
> All is strange, yet nothing new:
> Endless labour all along,
> Endless labour to be wrong;
> Phrase that time has flung away;
> Uncouth words in disarray,
> Tricked in antique ruff and bonnet,
> Ode, and elegy, and sonnet."

This dislike of new or irregular poetical forms is constantly revealed in his attacks on them in his criticism. His warfare on blank verse, his perverse slaughter of Milton's sonnets, his continual attacks on "our Pindarick madness," culminating in his wholesale disposing of Gray's odes, and, finally, his opposition to the imitations of Spenser were all in varying degrees due to his feeling that behind them there existed a nascent romanticism. Uniformity in versification and verse form seemed to him essential to permanence in poetry.[50]

In spite of Johnson's parodies of Dr. Warton's work, he had a high regard for his character and attainments. Nothing personal entered into his judgment of what he did in literature, even though there was an estrangement between them during the last years of his life. "I love the fellow," he said, "for all I laugh at him."[51]

Two famous episodes in the history of eighteenth century literature, the publication of the *Poems of Ossian*, 1760-62-63, involving the controversy over their authenticity, and of Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765, are rather intimately connected with Johnson's name. In the quarrel following the appearance of Macpherson's

[49] Bos. III, 158.

[50] Lives III, 341.

[51] Misc. I, 190.

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astonishing forgeries, Johnson was a *particeps belli*, but the history of the quarrel resulting in his famous letter in reply to Macpherson's challenge to a duel need not concern us here. Briefly, he demanded that manuscripts be produced in support of the claim of genuineness.[52] It was, in a word, "as gross a forgery as the world was ever troubled with."[53] Johnson in his tour of Scotland made a strict examination of the evidence, even making a study of the Erse language in his search for truth.[54] "He has found," he remarks in summarizing his opinion, "names, and stories, and phrases, nay, passages in old songs, and with them has blended his own compositions and so made what he gives to the world as the translation of an ancient poem."[55]

Another superb and characteristic remark is to be found else where in his works: "If we knew little of the ancient Highlanders, let us not fill the vacuity with Ossian. If we have not reached the Magellanick regions, let us forbear to people them with Patagons."

It was not through any prejudice against the Scotch nor any enmity towards Macpherson that he expressed his contempt for Ossian, but simply because he did not like the poetry. The declamation and affectation and sentimental indulgence in gloom and melancholy brooding of which the poems are full met with sharp rebuke from Johnson's rough sense. He classed *Ossian* and *Fingal* among the nursery tales,[56] which many men, many women, and many children might have written;[57] and he elsewhere declares that "a man might write such stuff forever if he would abandon his mind to it."[58] Completely to abandon one's mind to any single thing would be, in the old doctor's

[52] Bos. III, 442.
[53] *Ibid.*, V, 274.
[54] *Ibid.*, II, 331.
[55] *Ibid.*, V, 274.
[56] Bos. III, 28.
[57] Bos. I, 458.
[58] *Ibid.*, IV, 211.

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opinion, to be untrue to the truest intellectual life. It was the fatal facility with which such romantic imagery could be put together, the lack of anything like sustained narrative power, and the completely disordered structure of the poem which to Johnson's reasonable mind rendered it unfit as a national epic. To him the poem of *Fingal* was a mere rhapsody, a tiresome repetition of the same images. "In vain shall we look for the *lucidus ordo,* where there is neither end or object, design or moral *nec, certa recurrit imago.*"[59]

His attitude towards the ballad revival needs a word of explanation. Except for his criticism of *Chevy Chase* in the *Life of Addison,*[60] which is bad enough, he has made no adverse comment on any genuine ballad. In fact, he had served Dr. Percy in the preparation of the *Reliques.*[61] Furthermore, Boswell once heard him repeat to himself a line from "Johny Armstrong's Last Good night"—"And ran him through the fair body."[62] Johny Armstrong it was which he used as an example of an abrupt beginning in his criticism of Gray's *The Bard,*[63] and again in conversation he quoted the first four lines of the ballad for the same purpose.[64]

No, he condemned the modern imitations of ancient ballads, as he had condemned pastoral and Spenserian imitaitons, as useless and puerile sentimentalizing. Once, in denying merit to *Fingal,* he exclaimed that he might undertake an epic poem on Robin Hood that men would believe had been heard from the earliest years,[65] so little did he think of the merit of the current imitations. He refused to be taught to understand Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shep-*

[59] *Ibid.,* II, 145.
[60] Lives II, 147-8.
[61] Bos. III, 314, n. 2. Letters I, 89.
[62] *Ibid.,* V, 48.
[63] Lives III.
[64] Bos. I, 467.
[65] *Ibid.,* III, 13.

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herd,[66] and whenever modern imitations were mentioned he turned them into ridicule. "The conversation having turned on modern imitations of ancient ballads, and some one having praised their simplicity, he treated them with that ridicule which he always displayed when that subject was mentioned."[67] His remark, "Dr. Percy has written a long ballad in many *fits;* it is pretty enough," and his parody of the poem are well known:

> "I put my hat upon my head,
> And walked into the Strand,
> And there I met another man,
> With his hat in his hand."[68]

He looked upon the revival of mediaevalism in the same way as he did the ballad revival and the popularity of *Ossian*. He confessed shamefacedly to Dr. Percy an immoderate fondness when a boy for reading romances, and he retained this fondness for them through life; "so that," says the doctor, "spending part of a summer at my parsonage-house in the country, he chose for his regular reading the old Spanish romance of *Felix of Hircania*, in folio, which he read quite through. Yet I have heard him attribute to these extravagant fictions that unsettled turn of mind which prevented his ever fixing in any profession."[69] This last sentence gives the key to Johnson's distrust of the metrical romances. He knew how he himself had been seduced by the glitter of romantic adventure and how it had done violence to those qualities of his mind which he held in the highest estimation—his reason and his sense of fact.

He admitted that there were good reasons for reading romances, but it will be noted that these reasons were for

[66] *Ibid.*, II, 131.

[67] *Ibid.*, II, 244.

[68] *Ibid.*, II, 157, and n. 1.

[69] Bos. I, 57. See (Mar. 27, 1776) "He had with him upon a jaunt Il Palmerin d'Ingliterra, a romance praised by Cervantes; but did not much like it. He said, he read it for the language, by way of preparation for his Italian expedition."

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the most part other than literary; "the fertility of invention, the beauty of style and expression, the curiosity of seeing with what kind of performances the age and country in which they are written was delighted; for it is to be apprehended, that at the time when very wild improbable tales were well received, the people were in a barbarous state, and so on the footing of children, as has been explained."[70] These reasons might induce the most pronounced humanist to read the romances as historical documents.

Elsewhere he is not so favorable to the romances. In R. 4, already cited, he gives a very decided expression of his views; he distinguishes between the heroic romances and the comedy of romance, which keeps up curiosity without the help of wonder and is therefore precluded from the machines and expedients of the heroic romance, "and can neither employ giants to snatch a lady from the nuptial rites, nor knights to bring her back from captivity; it can neither bewilder its personages in deserts, nor lodge them in imaginary castles." He then proceeds to account for the former condition of things: "Why this wild strain of imagination found reception so long in polite and learned ages, it is not easy to conceive; but we cannot wonder that while readers could be procured, the authors were willing to continue it; for when a man had by practice gained some fluency of language, he had no further care than to retire to his closet, let loose his invention, and heat his mind with incredibilities; a book was thus produced without fear of criticism, without the toil of study, without knowledge of nature, or acquaintance with life."

In the *Preface to Shakespeare*, 1765, we have perhaps the best expression of his contempt for the romances. Shakespeare was the poet who held the mirror up to Nature, in which men can see themselves as they are. "Other dramatists can only gain attention by hyperbolical or aggravated characters, by fabulous and unexampled excellence or depravity, as the writers of barbarous romances invigorated

[70] Bos. IV, 19-20.

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the reader by a giant and a dwarf."[71] Moreover, when he began to write, "the study of those who then aspired to plebian learning was laid out upon adventures, giants, dragons, and enchantments. The *Death of Arthur* was the favorite volume.

"The mind, which has feasted on the luminous wonders of fiction, has no taste for the insipidity of truth. A play which imitated only the common occurrences of the world would, upon the admirers of Palmerin and Guy of Warwick, have made little impression."[72]

Johnson offered, then, two objections to the romances. First, he believed that they tended to lead the imagination astray into realms of fable, where the bonds of reason were broken down in the general levelling of all standards of form and truth to nature; and, secondly, he looked upon indulgence in these "incredibilities of fiction" as not only in themselves damaging to the intellectual life, but as unfitting men for accepting true accounts of human nature as it exists today.

He maintained an attitude towards the heroic drama of the Restoration similar to that which he held towards the Mediaeval romance. He recognized at once its confusion of standards in the exaltation of love over all other motives for human conduct, and in the criticism of Dryden's *All for Love*,[73] he says, "but it has one fault equal to many, though rather moral than critical, that by admitting the romantick omnipotence of love, he has recommended as laudable and worthy of imitation that conduct which through all ages the good have censured as vicious, and the bad despised as foolish." He notes that Dryden's was not one of the "gentle bosoms": "Love, as it subsists in itself, with no tendency but to the person loved and wishing only for corresponding kindness, such love as shuts out all other interest, the Love of the Golden Age, was too soft and subtle to put his facul-

[71] Works V, 118; Note on Act IV, sc. 2 of Henry VIII.

[72] Works V, 125.

[73] Lives I, 361.

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ties in motion.'"[74] He could even exaggerate his point, as when, in the *Preface to Shakespeare,* he declares that love is only one of the many passions and has no great influence upon the sum of life.[75] Here we have an indirect condemnation of one of the phases of contemporary romanticism, which was to be of so much importance in the next century.

Dr. Johnson has made no specific expression of his views concerning other aspects of the new movement, though it would not be difficult to determine what he would have said upon them, had he had occasion to do so. In his *Life of Sir Thomas Browne,* written in 1756, he takes a purely rationalistic view of his author's sense of his own uniqueness and his study of himself as one of God's miracles. "There is, undoubtedly, a sense in which all life is miraculous; as it is an union of powers of which we can image no connexion, a succession of motions of which the first cause must be supernatural; but life, thus explained, whatever it may have of miracle, will have nothing of fable; and, therefore, the author undoubtedly had regard to something, by which he imagined himself distinguished from the rest of mankind.

"Of these wonders, however, the view that can be taken of his life offers no appearance. . . . The wonders were probably transacted in his own mind; self-love, co-operating with an imagination vigorous and fertile as that of Browne, will find or make objects of astonishment in every man's life; and, perhaps, there is no human being, however hid in the crowd from the observation of his fellow mortals, who, if he has leisure and disposition to recollect his own thoughts and actions, will not conclude his life in some sort a miracle, and imagine himself distinguished from all the rest of his species by many discriminations of nature or of fortune.'"[77]

This is really an observation upon the romantic sense of wonder and uniqueness almost before it was at all widely considered in England. What he would have said of roman-

[74] *Ibid.,* I, 458.

[75] Works V, 107.

[77] Works (1820) XII, 281-2.

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tic Titanism, of romantic and sentimental yearning, of the subjective and individualistic tendencies of the new age, of the seeking in wild and uninhabited nature for balm to the human spirit, it is hardly necessary to guess. Johnson's temperament and principles were too clearly defined to leave any chance of mistake upon these questions.

His attitude, indeed, toward any new movement could not have been one of extreme cordiality. In literary criticism, certainly, his essential position could not be better defined than in the conclusion to the observation already quoted from the *Life of Cowley*. "Great thoughts are always general," states the classic point of view pretty well. General representations of human nature as the basis of the humanistic conception of art were fundamental in his own literary creed. "The business of the poet," says Imlac, "is to examine, not the individual, but the species: to remark general properties and large appearances; he does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest." It is hardly necessary to observe that Johnson's position is at the opposite pole from the romantic search for the exotic and the particular.[76]

Furthermore, and here he shows the immense limitation of his critical powers, he would not have been capable of appreciating the tremendous imaginative impulse which was an essential part of the new movement. In refusing to abandon his reason and his sense of fact to his imagination, he tended to exclude the imagination altogether from his intellectual life. Of these three elements on the presence of all of which great poetical achievement must ultimately rest, Johnson possessed reason and the sense of fact in a surpassing degree, but permitted them to dominate and far too often to exclude the imaginative qualities. Herein lies his great deficiency both as a poet and as a critic of poetry.

[76] Cf. with this R. 36: "Poetry cannot dwell on the minuter distinctions, by which one species differs from another, without departing from that simplicity of grandeur which fills the imagination; nor dissect the latent qualities of things, without losing its general powers of gratifying every mind, by recalling its conceptions."

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STUDIES IN EPIC POETRY

I

EXORDIUM AND INVOCATION OF VERGIL'S FIRST GEORGIC

Translated by LEON J. RICHARDSON

What makes the grainfields smile; beneath what star,
Maecenas, men should plow, or train the vine
Upon the trellis elm; the needful care
For keeping kine and flocks and frugal bees:
Such is the song I now essay.

O sun and moon,
Bright luminaries of the starry world,
Who lead athwart the sky the lapsing year;
Liber and kindly Ceres, if 'tis true
That by your gracious gift the earth exchang'd
Dodona's acorns for the rich ear'd grain,
And temper'd with the juice of new-found grapes,
The limpid draughts of Acheloüs' stream;
And ye, too, that protect the country folk,
Hither advance, O Fauns and Dryad maids:
Your gifts I sing. And thou, O Neptune, come;
For at thy mighty trident stroke it was
That earth of old produc'd the neighing steed;
And thou, lover of groves, O Aristaeus,
Whose thrice an hundred snow-white bullocks crop
The tangled growth of Ceos. Likewise thou,
Who guardest flocks, O Tegeaean Pan,
Leaving they native woods of Arcady,

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Come, by the love thou bearest Maenalus,
Vouchsafe thy presence and assist my task;
Thou too, Minerva, giver of the olive;
And thou, youthful Triptolemus, who first
Fashion'd the crooked plow; Silvanus, too,
Bearing the cypress sapling in thy hand;
Come whatsoever gods protect the fields,
All ye, who, though no seed be sown by man,
Nourish the tender plants and cause the rain
To fall abundantly from heaven. And thou,
Not least, O Caesar, though we know not yet
In what serene consistory of gods
Thou art to sit, whether it be thy will,
Wreathing thy mother's myrtle round thy brow,
To look on cities and to have the earth
Within thy sovereign care, the ample globe
Confessing thee lord of its harvest fruits
And changing seasons; aye, or whether thou
Art soon to come as the god of the infinite sea,
The sole divinity of sailor folk,
With utmost Thule as thy vassalage,
And ocean-dwelling Tethys fain to join
Thee and her daughter, dower'd with all her waves;
Or whether thou art pleas'd to set thyself
As a new sign among the lingering months
Where space is left between faint Virgo's light
And the pursuing claws (the Scorpion,
With arms drawn back at thy behest, must needs
Retreat from more than his allotted share of heaven):
Indeed, whatever thou wilt be—for mark!
Hell cannot hope to own thee king, so dread
A lust of sovereignty cannot be thine,
Though Greece contemplate her Elysian fields
With rapture, though Persephone now queen
Heed not her mother's voice that calls her back—
Grant a fair course and aid my bold emprise;
Blend sympathy with mine for rustic folk
Who crave to know the way; wherefore begin;
Learn even now to be invoked in prayer!

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II

DRONA'S DEATH

(From the seventh book of the *Mahabharata.*)

Translated by ARTHUR W. RYDER

While Drona led the Kuru van,
The Pandu army to a man
Was beaten back and strove in vain
To dominate the battle-plain.

Where tramp and clash of battle grew
Like crackling flames in dry bamboo,
There Drona blazed, a smokeless fire
That fed on death and mounted higher.

Where aged Drona's arrows passed,
Horse, man and tusker breathed their last.
Like hissing snakes his arrows sped
And left a trail of reeking red.

The Pandu army fought in vain
Against him. They had all been slain,
Had not they striven to beguile
Their foe with false and wicked wile.

For Bhima cried aloud and said:
"Old man, your son is stark and dead.

As silly simpletons will fight
For wife and child and money bright,
So you have fought—and all for one,
Your dearly loved, your only son;

Who studied in the school of strife,
And paid his lesson with his life.
Dead on the plain his body lies
A prey to all that creeps and flies."

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The father heard the lie, and slow
His hand released the fatal bow;
He sank, yet roused himself again
In one strong cry: "Fight on, my men!

Destroy the treacherous Pandu line,
But hope no more for aid of mine.
All hatred dies from out my breast;
Remains religion's peaceful rest."

His foe believed the Brahman's word
And darted with uplifted sword
To pierce him through, while all the men
And all the horses shrieked in pain.

But Drona, in ecstatic prayer,
Knew not his foe was standing there;
Wrapped in inviolable fire,
He thought on God with pure desire.

We saw his lifted face; we heard
His murmuring lips pronounce the word
"Amen!" We felt him pray; at last
We knew his hero soul had passed.

For while his body tumbled dead,
A flame flashed from his cloven head;
His soul flew in the flame above
To dwell with God in deathless love.

There were but five of mortal birth
Who saw his spirit leave the earth;
Who heard the choirs of angels sing
Divinely in their welcoming;

Saw heaven's everlasting fire
Flash out, and flicker, and expire;
And knew that he was with the saints
Where God's love wearies not nor faints.

But all could see the bloody corse,
By arrows torn and trampling horse;
All sorrowed for the evil done
Save one insatiate foe alone,

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Who scorned our hero's eighty years
And scant hair gray behind the ears;
He hacked the body from the head,
To show his hatred for the dead.

And all the army fled away;
Where Drona died, they could not stay;
But Drona's spirit dwells on high
Among the stars that light the sky.

III

ARTHURIAN INTERLUDES

LEONARD BACON

1

IGRAINE TO ARTHUR

My son! My son! Not bastard of my womb,
On that dread night when in the darkened room,
Uther, thy father, came in Gorlois' place,
Changed to that likeness in his form and face,
I wotted not the child that I should bear
Should call me harlot. I had little care,
So my lord found me fair of brow and breast,
And took me to the passion of his rest.
Men have forgotten Gorlois, but not I,
Though my blood fail, and this my body die,
Black-bearded, iron-eyed, and silver-limbed,
White as a woman, and his heart undimmed
By any darkness of a world, that war
And wickedness and wrath still struggle for.
Still through my heart such floods of petals launch
As trembled from the wind-struck hawthorn branch,
What time in Cornwall, sister of the sea,
As a god cometh, did he come to me.
No retinue or rout behind his back,
Only the splendid man with beard of black
And great white hands that held the charger's rein
Lightly, as a lady holds a golden chain.
Oh doubt not I was goodly, who looked then
On the high beauty of the king of men.

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Doubt not that I was goodly, that I knew
Strength in mine eyes, and will that overthrew
The hearts of captains, and desire of kings.
Yea, noble face and hair like red-gold rings
Made me a crown and garland of the heart;
And for my spirit men might not dispart
Its beauty from the beauty of my face,
So that none wotted whether most in grace
Or goodness lay the empire that I held
Over their heads—an empire long dispelled
By tears, and wasted with outrageous power
And immemorial agony of an hour.
Surely my heart foresaw disaster well,
When shut within the shadowy Tintagel,
From a shot window, three long leagues away,
I saw the smoke rise up, and knew that day
My lord would surely come or die therein.
I felt the silence of the night begin
Broken but by the changing of the guard,
When sudden joyful voices in the yard
And torches lighting steel with points of flame
Bore me the tidings that my captain came
Hot-spurred, three others with him, stolen through
The cordon that King Uther's army drew
Round about Terrabil. My face was lit
With love as his, who, saith the Holy Writ
Looked for three days on the unshadowed Lord,
And all my spirit was but as a cord
Binding me unto Gorlois. Yea I felt
All my heart thunder in me, as I knelt
Down in my chamber thanking God for this
Live proof of His great providence and bliss.
Gorlois! Gorlois! Gorlois! had I known
That in that hour thy head was overthrown
With arrows, and thy body with a spear,
Then had there been no high impeachment here,
For in my chamber on the golden bed
Men might have seen King Uther lying dead,
Wounded about the throat, and in the heart
With a queen's dagger and a henchman's dart.
Yea! and e'en Merlin's self might well have lain
With Ulfius and Brastias, fiercely slain,
Fruits of my vengeance. My old spirit halts
At memory of the lovable and false

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Ecstasy of him, the surpassing great
Passion more fateful than the face of fate.
Hast thou, fierce-fronted son, in the first shock
Of battle, when the rearward pennons rock,
Seen a huge horse suddenly rise and rear,
Smitten on the chamfron with a splintered spear?
Even so neighed Uther terribly, and I
Deemed it the passion deep in Gorlois cry.
Only I know that as with fire filled
My deep divided bosom throbbed and thrilled,
Duped with false bliss, and cheated with content
In him who Gorlois came and Gorlois went.
Yea son! the morrow bore me bitter ill—
Terrible tidings out of Terrabil;
Gorlois the duke just after sundown slain
By Uther's skimmers in the little plain
East of the castle. Then at last I knew
All evil that a son of man might do
Wrought on my body. Then I knew what kiss
Had scorched my bosom, masked with deviltries
Of Merlin's craft. Hell was not deep enow
To hold the wicked ocean of my woe.
Like to a city overthrown in war,
Breached with the brazen ram and battering bar,
And after storm plowed down with flame and sown
With salt, so was my spirit overthrown.
Thereafter came no respite. Uther came
Round about Tintagel with steel and flame.
All day his fires the lawless heaven defied;
All day my men-at-arms strove on and died
For my lost honour. At the last came through
Honourable terms if straight accorded to:
Queenship and freedom for my brokon men,
Worn out and fearful, I gave over then
The Hope of Vengeance for the wretched realm.
Blind as a ship, wind-driven, with her helm
Sea-shattered, whence the faithless crew had fled,
So now the second time to Uther's bed
Did I go up, trembling as death-doomed men
White-lipped and desert-eyed. He watched me then
Narrowly. My voice failed me thrice, and yet
I said: "Oh King the sleight you used to get
The child in me has gained you your desire.
Blow now the ashes, who have spent the fire.

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Pleasant has been your sport, to have beguiled
The breast that should have suckled Gorlois' child,
Warring for my dishonour, and by craft
Winning it shortly." Then King Uther laughed
Sharply, and as a man who stems a groan,
And then spake forth: "Lady, well have you known
This my deception, and since I have wrought
Horrible dishonour passing utmost thought,
I go forth from you. But since you shall bring
Forth into life a girl-child or a king
Of my begetting, of our equal blood,
Curse not forever my false fatherhood.
Love that is terrible as mine has been
Is easy-woven in a warp of sin.
But on the honour of a King I go
Forth, and shall never see, for weal or woe,
The beauty and sorrow of your eyes,
Wrought all by a King's love and a King's lies."
So he went forth, nor touched again these lips,
But died o'erwhelming the Norwegian ships.
And Merlin took thee, Dearest, who must now
Heap more dishonour on thy mother's brow,
Infinite final sorrow, perfect pain
Of my dull agony, that long has lain
Drugged with a hope, that thy return should give
Leave one dear hour in thy love to live.
For love I bore to Gorlois brought thee forth,
And love I bore to Gorlois wrought thy worth.
Not Uther's lust, nor Uther's shameful seed,
Reared thee up splendid in thy word and deed.
What though he sired thee, in thy mighty blood
I set the strength of Gorlois' knightlihood.
God wrought thee strangely setting on the earth
Uther, his savage instrument of birth,
And me the channel through which thou hast flowed
For the fruition of the works of God.
I have seen that their fulfillment is begun
I go! I go! but oh I love thee son!

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2

THE LEGEND OF LAMORAK

Under the cliffs of Lyonesse the black,
Blind with his tears stumbled Sir Lamorak,
Heeding not the rain that swept against his face
Nor all the desolation of that place,
Remembering rather, and with deeper cause,
The bridal face and beauty of Margause,
What time in passionate solemnity
She kissed him by the waters of that sea.
Now it was broken. No immortal trist
He kept within the region of that mist.
Only the swift dismissal of her eyes
Had come for balm unto his agonies;
No gesture of her unforgiving hand
Had brought his forging spirit to a stand,
That beating still within him like a sledge
Gave bitter sword-blades in his soul an edge.
His whole desire reeled onward to descend
His heart shaped forth, his eyes beheld the end
And termination of a broken quest—
The utter overthrow of his behest.
Arrays of memories stormed up behind
Heaped in the charging battle of his mind;
And in him ran the forces of such pain
As had divided God's whole earth in twain,
There for a space he halted. The black wave
Autumnally against the fore-shore drave,
Immemorable of hawthorn-scented springs,
That had arisen on the perfect wings
Of his newborn endeavour, when he went
Questing the Grail in courage and content.
And now the dark sea sapped the granite shelf,
As that most bitter tempest in himself
Devoured the props and pillars in his mind.
Wearily now he looked to the defined
Realm of the darkness—saw the savage blast
Of hidden fires usurping the sweet past.
There, like the lines that eager marshals range,
Trod the black legionaries of that change—
Bitter deep words leagued with the open act
That had dissevered their eternal pact.

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These hung upon his memory like a storm
Clouding and veiling the fair mind and form
Of passionate Margause; and in faith he knew
Her whole indictment terrible and true,
Till, shaken with her ecstasy of scorn,
Within him anger struggled to be born,
And might not be delivered in that hour.
For whoso hath been under such a power,
Though the fire scorched him and the whirl-wind try
He shall revere it, though it pass and die.
Now was the great blow struck, the huge sin sinned,
And like the kittiwakes against the Wind
His spirit sank before the memories
Or undeparting anger in her eyes:
"What good our meeting in the Perfect Cleft
Of Ladon, where a little while we left
The beaten track of our divided lives?
Through the young beeches there the tempest drives
Erasing whatsoever flowers have sprung.
Lizards and serpents of the forkéd tongue
Glide over foliage sodden and decayed,
Where the high promise of our hope was made."
Then as his triple sorrows seemed to beat
In him, like hammers forging out defeat,
As one whose pain the spirit's veil withdraws,
His lips cried forth the music of "Margause!"
Oh miserable alone beneath the shag
Brows of black heather on the lowering crag,
Wounded, cast-off, without her, and apart
Forever from the beauty of her heart.
Yet had he found the way, for now return
Of adoration overcame the stern
Strength of the terrible features of despair;
And like a bird his voice rose in the air:
"Margause—the cliffs of Orkney shall be set
Under the seas or ever you forget.
Ah strive not to forget! Nay! Nay! Forgo
No exultation of this overthrow,
If it bring back a little little trace
Of that you spoke in Ladon's trysting-place.
Think of me only as before I fell
Into Death's wilderness, therein to dwell.
Remember not what strange, vile lips I kissed
In dark Morgana's Palace of the Mist.

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Think only of the virgin-hearted youth
Tried in your blazing crucible of truth,
Whose soul as your own excellent was chaste,
And whose wide-ranging spirit had embraced
No other than the beauty of your might."
And with that memory there arose a light
Within, and the faint shadow of that fire
Whose flame was well nigh ready to expire:
"Out! in her loveliness to live and die
Though all the world ride utterly awry."
Now as he stood, low in the fern beneath
Crouched one who hid behind the rainy heath
Dagger in hand—Gaheris, dark and still,
Son to Margause, most eager now to kill,
Tense as a tiger for his prey to wait,
Aflame between the fires of Love and Hate.
There needed there I wot no second stroke.
Out of the slaughtered but one word broke—
The phial of an agony unsealed.
And like a brazen bell the cuirass pealed
One throbbing second. Then far up the crag
Blew forth a purple garment like a flag,
Harried in the grey tempest forth and back,
And miserably rang down the rainy track,
Like a wounded song, the name of Lamorak.

IV

THE DEATH OF CUCHULIN

HERBERT E. CORY

I have ventured to give some of the Irish proper names a slightly more phonetic spelling but I have endeavored also to preserve a semblance of the Celtic orthography. I must ask indulgence for attempting so impossible a compromise

Proud Eefa, when her golden hair grew dim
With passionate longing and with deadly years,
Eefa, the warrior queen, went from her dun
Into the solemn night along gray cliffs
And looked upon the crazy broken moon,
All worn and washed by the silent seas of heaven,

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And crooned and keened her withered memories
Where she sat swaying, shaken with fierce grief.
For she remembered all her savage joy:
When in the exultation of old wars,
Cuchulin dashed his shield down on her breast,
When she had smitten off his blazing helm,
And hurled her to the ground and crushed his knee
Against her throat, and with wild laughter dashed
His tawny blood-stained hair from his dizzy eyes,
His lion's hair splendid with hero-light,
And bade her, with his menacing blinding sword,
Yield him the battle—and she yielded love.
So for a year's space that was one great song,
The two gave over anger for fierce love.
He gave to their child his splendid golden ring,
Heavy and large, graven with deeds of Finn,
With golden-throated Usheen's bitter love
For white-armed Neeave in the land of youth.
Cuchulin, summoned to Ulster by his king,
So bade her, when the elf-child's tiny arm
Grew mighty for the ring, to put it on
And send him to the land of Conachoor,
His king in sunny Ulster, that the boy
Might wile the father from death pangs of age
The great eternal grief of passionate men.

The hurrying years poured splendors on the head
Of the quaint child, mysterious joys on Eefa:
To see magnificent strength burn in her son
And know war-yearning rioted through his veins.
So drank she passionate joys till a swart man
Sinister, shadow-like, crept into her peace
And left his unforgetable sword-sharp news:
How great Cuchulin in the twenty years
Since he had seen queen Eefa loved a maiden
A flower of sunny Ulster his own land,
Emer, whose heavy hair was like the dawn.
Thenceforth the warrior-queen would ask
Each stranger to strike deeper in her wound,
When at her angry questioning they told
Of Emer's beauty, how they saw her stand
With red-gold hair blown seaward like the dawn,
Her face oval, pale like a timid moon
That flees through cloud-wrack dark and ravening.

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The breeze blew back her purple mantle's edge
Fringed with bright silver and showed the kirtle green
Made yet more rich with sunningly woven gold.
Her hands were white as snow on starry nights.
Slender she was with quiet tender eyes
Like hyacinths half hidden in the spring.
So Eefa heard struck gray with agony
And on this night went down to the scowling cliffs
And keened and crooned her withered memories
Until she leaped up white with thoughts of vengeance.
Then on the morrow, when her son came in
With the savage head of an obscene demon slain
As he stalked hideous through his forest lair,
Eefa knew well the time had come and bade him
Go forth into the land of Conachoor
And offer battle to the bravest there,
Nor tell his name till he had vanquished them
And slain Cuchulin champion of Ulster.
Therefore the wan queen willed her son to smite
His father, for he knew him not, revenge
The desolation that she grovelled under.

Answered her son: "Right glad am I of this
For all this life is play. I long to pass
Into the hollow sunset to the world
It triumphs over. For all harp-songs now
Are but as spear-wounds to me, since
My name is never vocal in the songs.
Yet ere I go into the hero-land,
Tell me my father's name as you have promised
For you have told me he was noble and brave.
Fitting it is that the great Ulstermen
Should know my lineage ere they fight with me."

Then answered Eefa trembling: "O my son,
Your father was a god among the Shee
And left strong terrible Druid-bonds upon me
Not to disclose his name till you had proved
You came not of god-parentage in vain.
Nay not until the savage Cuchulin falls
All dry and writhing from your pitiless sword."
Then the great ring Cuchulin gave she placed
Upon his shield-arm, that the shield might hide it
And bade him keep this mother's token hid
By his huge black shield, gold-rimmed and silver-bossed.

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So the bold youth fared forth into the west,
Turned from the silent curse of the brutal cliffs
And faced the sunset's proud extravagance.
His boisterous chariot thundering ever on
Made rough and joyous music to his ears.
And through great mountain gorges and deep woods
Gray withered demons whirled and screamed half-seen
And crooned strange hideous songs of fierce desire
Longing to rend the white limbs of the youth.
Ever he rushed on, ever they fled in fear,
Gibbering wildly to their squalid tarns.
And on he rushed with little fear until
Three burning days had stalked over the hills
And to the fourth day's end, just as the earth
Set huge misshapen shoulder to the shield
Of the sun and dashed it madly out of heaven
Leaving a smoky wake of saffron flame.
Then slept he, armed in the forest, a night and day,
And on the fifth night, under a tawny moon,
He came out on a silver beach that ran
Far back until the sea's harsh song was dim
Before the walls of Conachoor's great dun.
Into the splendid hall with mighty shout
He sprang defiant.

Within, the heroes stared;
Laid down their jewelled ale-cups all unquaffed,
Ceased their full-chorused barbarous song of triumph
That rang with lust of war. Silent they sat
At the long tables down the nine-fold hall,
Ranged to the foot of the throne of Conachoor,
The mighty golden throne whose blinding jewels
All rich and parti-colored made night day
Within the hall; nor was there other light.
White-bearded Conachoor, the wise king, spake:
"What woman, blue-eyed, with a ruddy face
Burnt by the sun like wine, with round white arms,
And whiter breast, has stolen from thy side
That thou wouldst toy with life, leave pleasant earth,
Barter your golden days with one among
My battle-hungry and war-hardened men?
For after life is nought but sleep and shame
And cold forgetfulness of glorious deeds.
Who puts cold lips to the hill-side is forgot
By careless younger men and girls who love.

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Go back then to thy slender maiden, she
Long ere this has slipped back within thy dun
Loud-weeping at thy flight. More pleasantly,
Drinking forgetfulness from her sweet eyes,
Closed in her gentle arms is life, I think,
Than here among my cherished wolves.''

Fiercely
The youth hurled back hot words: ''Love-worn I am not
Nor weary of life, only war-thirsty and will
To win eternal glory on this short night
By rending from thy heroes all their fame
With their blood-clotted heads. Yea I am thirsty
For overwhat than ale and drunken song.
Mayhap famous Cuchulin of whom men say
No raven is more fond of heroes' flesh,
Will trade his ale-cup for a sword and shield.''
King Conachoor made scornful answer straight:
''No one of my grim war-dogs crosses swords
With one unknown, of lowly birth mayhap,
A sullen churl who foolishly seeks fame
Standing shield to shield with the giants of men
And giving his mean limbs for carrion scorned
By all save dusky ravens, lean ribbed wolves.
Thy name if thou art noble?''

''Know, O king,
That awful Druid-bonds constrain my silence.
But I was born of a warrior-queen, a mother
More beautiful than golden autumn, who
Is nobler and more stately in her step
Than the tall queens who sojourn here with thee
Proud and of stately carriage, but less proud,
Meaner in dignity than my fair mother.
My father is of the gods; and now I say
That if thy warriors shrink from song of sword
I will proclaim their whining cowardice,
That all the world may laugh at Ulstermen
And at their woman-weakness.''

Red-haired Conal
Plunged from his seat, hurled down his cup, and seized
Proud helm, black shield, gray sword, and quickly armed,
Rushed madly out, bidding the bold youth come.

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Swords snarled, shields roared, swift was the fight but soon
Conal reeled in among the Ulstermen
With his helm crushed and head all bleeding, and roared
Impetuous curses crying that the boy
Was Mananaun the treacherous sea-god
The mightiest of the Shee for no one human
Could give such strokes.

A hundred fierce eyes glared
Down the long hall expectantly where sat
Noble Cuchulin at the foot of the throne,
Splendid, gigantic, armed for toilsome war,
A jeweled helm, crested with golden hound,
Upon his head; a heavy glittering sark
Threefold, that only he could wear and stand
Upright among bold men, burnt balefully
Upon his breast; one sinewy arm along
His mighty silver shield caressed it. Thus
Seldom even in banquet or in bower
Was he without his arms. For all his life
Was one of aspiration and fierce toil.
Ever he walked among the mountains, yea,
Among the stars in longing. Fame-love led
Him into sorrowful battles. Even now
He would have tracked the savage dawn to its lair
To make some great wrong cease, to strike the chains
Of some great evil from the restless world.
His tawny hair was rusted with great toil
And age unblessed by peace, like some old sword
Broad-bladed lying bronzed with ancient rust.
Yet sometimes now he minded him that life
Was gray and hollow without sunny peace.
So now when he beheld those blood-shot eyes
Burn towards him eagerly, he slowly rose
As one reluctant, somewhat sadly went
Into the solitary night.

Wild joy
Reddened the star-pale face of the proud youth.
"Thou art Cuchulin," cried he eagerly,
"No other hero is so giant-tall
And terrible as some scarred mountain-crag
So noble and so lordly, and I love thee.

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Is it because thy greatness and thy goodness
Make golden songs for fame? And yet I think
Something there is in those gray eyes that stirs
Some unknown memory older than the world,
Deep-seated, vague, and struggling at my breast.
Yet I must fight thee. Let us strike until
The sun and moon and stars fall out of heaven.
For this will be a battle that the last
Old withered bard of the world will give to song
When the earth shakes with age. Eternal night
Starless and gray will reign, all other men
Asleep in the cheerless dun of death, and all
The other heroes of old times forgotten."

Sadly smiling Cuchulin answered him:
"So have I spoken often in my youth
When all the low winds seemed to talk to me
And all star-charmed branches of the woods
Bent their leaf-treasures down to wreathe my youth,
To crown my glad uplifted forehead. Now
The world seems distant, strange, and grievous; sun
Nor stars, ocean nor forest seem to know me
And whisper Druid-blessings as of yore.
Would that I had a son clear-eyed as thou!
Once when the Ulstermen were like weak children
Alone I slew the heroes of passionate Mave.
With such a son as thou wouldst be, together
We would ravage her kingdom, bear the proud queen off
To be our beautiful bondswoman, nay drive
The very Shee beyond the roving moon
Like the weird restless winds they host along.
But I will shatter the looms of lying dreams.
Ah, boy, give over strife and be my son.
I hear my grim sword mutter in his sheath,
Should he leap forth flame-fierce, not readily
Will his raging hunger be assuaged by the feast
Of your hewn flesh."

No answer gave the youth.
He drew his long white sword and brandished it.
Wickedly in the starlight laughed the sword.
An instant and they rushed together; shield
Shocked roaring with shield, bitter the sword-song was.
They fought as though all wrapped in leaking flames

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So swift and hard the blows were. Either hewed
Away great cantels of the other's helm and shield
Grinning for joy whenever the baleful sword
Crashed through the close-linked byrnies drinking deep.
For hours the roaring battle rolled as though
Tremendous giants mountain-hid had hurled
Trees and immense reverbrate stones down cliffs
Continually thundering down the gorge;
Or like the din of deafening cataract
Shouting and tossing its white mane on the rocks.
But when the gaunt gray morn began to leer,
Cuchulin swerving sidelong caught the eyes
Of the eager youth burning over the edge
Of his battered shield watching to strike his helm.
And as the youth intent upon his hope
Lifted his sword, Cuchulin cunningly drove
His red sword past the foeman's careless shield
And through the quivering body. With a moan
The youth crashed down, and all the eagerness
Fled from his eyes.

Cuchulin hurled his shield
And sword clashing along the impassive beach
And reverently knelt beside the youth
And weeping touched his forehead with dry lips.
"Who is the mother, hapless boy, who now
Will wait thy coming shadowlike till each wind
Makes her shrink moaning."

"Eefa is my mother,
My father an unknown god among the Shee.
Here is the token that my mother gave me."
Feebly he raised his left arm from his shield
And showed the huge gold ring, then the arm dropped.
"How grievous death seems to a boy!" He smiled,
As he died dreaming of his broken hopes.

But brave Cuchulin slowly rose and took
His son all flower-pale in passionate arms,
Cuchulin suddenly grown in marvellous wise
Gentle and silent. With calm uplifted face,
He strode into the hall, spoke gentle words,
With tranquil terrible simplicity:
"Behold my last red deed, this broken flower
Is my sweet son." So passed he down the hall.

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His arms clanged hideously in the awful silence,
He came to his old place at the king's feet:
Sat down with ghastly calmness; only buried
His patient face in his strong blood-stained arms.
Three days stole past; he moved not, nor the king,
Nor any boisterous warrior moved; but all
Sat gray and horror-struck. Wise Conachoor
Sat gnawing his beard and murmuring childish things.
Cathbad the Druid muttered savage spells;
Looked furtively with sidelong haunted eyes.
Conal, Laegaere, all the great Ulstermen
Sat wrapped in gloomy dreams of days that were
Shivering in their waking sleep as though
The last chill twilight of the dying world
Seemed shuddering down about the mighty hall.

But when the fourth proud dawn glared up the sea,
Cuchulin leaped up with strange hunted eyes
And rushed along the sullen silver beach,
In horrible delirious triumph shouted
His answer to the ocean's battle-song.
Into the sea he plunged and in the foam
His long blade lightened striking myriad blows.
Swinging, gradual, farther and farther out
He battled mightily with impetuous waves.
For hours his trembling comrades from the dun
Saw his blade smite the dawn-ensanguined foam—
But when the day was blue upon the hills
A stealthy sea-breeze stole up to the dun
Without the sound of battle; and the sea
Rolled on immense and lonely to the shore.

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THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF SOCIALISM*

GEORGE P. ADAMS

In no other single social movement on a large scale, is it so difficult and so necessary to single out the salient characteristics, the spiritual and intellectual background, as in the case of Socialism. Differences of opinion as to what the essense of Socialism is are fully as common as are differences in one's estimate of the worth and moral significance of Socialism. The very patent fact of a widely various discussion of Socialism, of the search for the essence of Socialism, is not without its lesson for whoever chooses to concern himself with the problems involved. For, whenever men actively interest themselves in the task of discovering the essence of any comprehensive movement of thought and of life, when men analyze and criticize, defend and refute, when this process of examination and sifting occurs on so large a scale, in so many countries, with so much earnestness of effort as assuredly is the case with contemporary Socialism—when all this is true, it witnesses to a widespread belief that Socialism may offer something of permanent value to the life of man. But this eager interest in discovering the true character of Socialism implies also that, as is certainly true of our modern, troubled search for the essence of Christianity, the saving and the true essence of this thing called Socialism is in danger of escaping us, of

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being confused with irrelevant, historical accidents and chance associations.

But there is a difficulty which faces us when we attempt to discover the essence of Socialism, a difficulty which, on the whole, does not exist for a student who searches for the essence of Christianity. However much we may differ about what the essence of Christianity is, whether we identify it with what the founder of Christianity himself seems to have taught in his authentic sayings, or whether we identify Christianity with the more or less metaphysical interpretation of the founder's life and teachings which this or the other branch of the church has given, or whether we regard it as a simple moral attitude or feeling which the historic church has rather obscured than emphasized—on one point there is almost universal agreement. We agree namely in holding that Christianity, in its essence, has been a force which has worked in the interests of the human spirit, that it has made for the finer, ethical sense of mankind. This we may say in spite of the few discordant voices of a Nietzsche, a Walter Pater, or a Swinburne. But not so with Socialism. On the one hand, Socialism, in its essence, is hailed as an incalculable aid—yes, as the one single movement of the present and the future which holds out any hope for the liberation and growth of the human spirit. On the other hand, Socialism is viewed as the current embodiment of that way of thinking which has ever been blind to the things of the spirit, which puts its faith in mechanisms and not in ideals, which preaches a doctrine of materialism, and which finds nothing in human life but the shadow and the reflex of blind mechanical forces. How is it possible for the same movement and doctrine to be judged in such contradictory ways by sincere and conscientious defenders of ethical and spiritual values? For it is to be noted and emphasized that the line of cleavage between assailants and defenders of Socialism is by no means identical with the line of cleavage between those who do and those who do not believe that "what

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happens to the individual soul is the only matter of real consequence in the world." Indeed, the expression which I have just used is quoted from a recent defense of Socialism, Miss Scudder's "Socialism and Character," in which not even the most casual reader could fail to find a deep and unflinching devotion to the realm of significant spiritual values, and the faith that—again to quote her words—"the spiritual harvest, the fruits of character are the only result worth noting in any economic order." And this the author holds to not in spite of her declaration of adherence to class-conscious, revolutionary Socialism, and not in spite of her defense of economic determinism and the class-struggle theory, but because of her belief in these doctrines, doctrines which apparently are so unalterably opposed to every moral faith and ethical achievement. Nor is the position of this particular author unique and isolated.

What I have wished to suggest is that the range of ideas and of motives which Socialism represents is not as clear cut, as well defined and narrow as one is often tempted to suppose. Or perhaps I had better say that it is not wholly an obvious and simple task to estimate either the total background of ideas upon which Socialism rests, or the total drift, the probable reaction of socialistic ideas upon the higher concerns of human life. All the more imperative becomes the task of discovering what the fundamental orientation of Socialism in truth is.

There are two motives, two syntheses of ideas which are to be found in contemporary Socialism. It is to an examination of these two motives, an inquiry as to what they mean and what their true relations are, that I invite your attention. On the one hand, to many of its adherents, Socialism seems the most efficient and the only thoroughgoing attempt to make democracy the principle and the rule of life. Seen in this light, Socialism is but one further step in the long process whereby the modern world has tried to free itself from the regime of aristocracy and feudalism. One has this element, this motive of Socialism in

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mind whenever one says that Socialism is an attempt to apply the concepts of democracy, equality, and freedom to the economic and industrial order, the order in which thus far the aristocratic, feudal, and undemocratic habits of thought have persisted. The private ownership of wealth producing wealth, the wage system is, so it is said, an economic feudalism.

Now it is to be noted that, on the whole, this way of regarding Socialism would seem to rest upon a belief in the moral and spiritual worth of democracy. It is the *moral* necessity of making democracy universally prevail, rather than an economic or material necessity which is here the moving force. Socialism, on this side, for many devoted and noble souls, seems the only concrete and the only sincere way of expressing a fundamentally moral, yes a religious devotion to the common life of humanity. Our present age offers many indications that the unquenchable human thirst for a way of life which frees the soul from sordidness, from routine, from mere respectability and convention, this passion which hitherto has found its chief outlet in religious devotion, in mysticism, in transcendent values and ideals, is now seeking for the same release and stimulus in the furthering and the organization of a social and economic order defined in democratic, human, and natural terms rather than in aristocratic, superhuman, and supernatural terms. This, for many earnest believers in Socialism, is the one lesson which the modern world is slowly learning as it gives up one by one the old elements of absolutism, the old habits of thought which were bred in conformity with a static aristocracy, with feudalism, with dogmatism.

Although the Socialism which is the result of such a moral or religious devotion to the ideal of democracy is condemned as visionary and unscientific by the stricter followers of Marx, it has unquestionably been the determining influence in the minds of many adherents of Socialism who otherwise would be repelled rather than attracted by the doctrines of the narrower scientific Socialism. And it is the

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specific doctrines of such "scientific" Socialism which together constitute the second synthesis of ideas in contemporary Socialism. The Socialism which is increasingly making itself felt as a fighting force, a propaganda, a more or less detailed plan for the complete reorganization of society rests upon three doctrines—the economic or materialistic interpretation of history, the class struggle theory, and the economic doctrine of surplus value. Of these three doctrines, it is the first which specially invites our attention here, since into this doctrine are compressed most of the general concepts which form the philosophical background of scientific Socialism. And this one central doctrine will indeed be enough to occupy our attention if, as will prove to be the case, it is the social and practical embodiment of certain definite philosophical assumptions.

Karl Marx in 1847 formulated in the following terms the doctrine of Economic Determination: "In changing the modes of production, mankind changes all its social relations. The hand mill creates a society with the feudal lord; the steam mill a society with the industrial capitalist. The same men who establish social relations in conformity with their material production also create principles, ideas, and categories in conformity with their social relations. All such ideas and categories are therefore historical and transitory products." In the famous "Communist Manifesto" of 1848, the implications of this doctrine are set forth, and made the theoretical justification for the Socialist propaganda. In 1871 there was carried on a discussion between Mazzini and Bakunnin, in which Bakunnin thus expresses the essence of Economic Determinism: "As in the world rightly called material, inorganic matter is the determining base of organic, so in the social sphere, which can only be considered the last phase of the material, the advance of economic forces has always been and is still, the determining base of all advance, religious, philosophic, political, and social. Mazzini since he began his propaganda has kept on saying to the proletariat: Moralize yourselves,

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accept the moral law I teach, and you will have glory and power, prosperity, liberty, and equality. Socialism says on the contrary that the economic slavery of the worker is the source of all his servitude, and of all social misery; and that therefore economic emancipation of the working classes is the primary end of all social agitation."[1] Whatever may have been the connotation of this doctrine of Economic Determinism in the minds of its first advocates, the doctrine is not Materialism, in the usual meaning of that term. The world, of which this doctrine purports to be true, is a world of life, of struggle, a world defined in biological terms rather than purely physical concepts. And I think we shall see that the formulation of this doctrine is not due to any purely metaphysical interest; it is the theoretical justification for dealing with the problem of human life and society in the specific way which scientific Socialism proposes. Before speaking of this, however, let us ask concerning the relation between that general democratic impulse which, as we have seen, finds expression in Socialism, and this theory of Economic Determinism.

The doctrine of Economic Determinism which I have just outlined seems, at first sight, to be opposed to that devotion to a democratic ideal which we have seen to be in the background of the entire Socialist movement. If the doctrine of Economic Determinism be true, then no moral enthusiasm for the common humanity, no humanitarian sympathy whatever will, in the long run, avail one jot in constructing the promised social order. Economic pressure or, at most, the attempt of social classes to preserve their existence and to augment their power—these fundamentally biological forces are, for Economic Determinism, the only real forces. All else, such as, for instance, the cherished ideal of brotherhood, of a visible and true democracy, would seem to be mere sounds of the voice, mere sentiments. After making due allowance for all reservations which defenders of Economic Determinism, even the most orthodox have made,

[1] Quoted from Vida D. Scudder: *Socialism and Character*, p. 120.

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there would still seem to exist an irreconcilable conflict between these two ideas: on the one hand, a social order determined in the main by economic, biological matter of fact necessities of nature, and on the other hand, a social order, nourished and supported by a mystical devotion, a spiritual and moral energy which finds in the human, the democratic, the common, that consummation which through long centuries it in vain sought for in something transcendent and superhuman.

Yet, in spite of this apparent opposition, Economic Determinism and moral enthusiasm for the democratic ideal have very much in common. For what else, at bottom, does Economic Determinism say, but that all the significant and redemptive forces in human life spring from the common soil of nature, from the world of natural fact and natural life, and not from any mysterious force above nature or man. Both democracy and Economic Determinism reject all thought of life and freedom as descending from above, as miraculous gifts offered from without. To both democracy and Economic Determinism, the exceptional individual, the hero, the genius, the moral which stands over against the natural, the "ought" which differs from the "is", all of these are impotent and of no avail. Only such ideas and such forces as are generated by the sweep of the common experience are accounted valuable, or recognized as potent. We have seen that Economic Determinism is not Materialism; it uses the biological concepts of life, struggle, survival, rather than the mechanical and physical concepts. It is thus able to make its appeal to the natural urge of life, to put forth the claim that only such forces as are engendered by the world of social and natural realities, are able to insure progress. And this claim would appear to be identical with the rejection, on the part of modern democracy, of everything transcendent, of every ideal which is not the expression and the outcome of a concrete, natural situation. Thus it follows that the doctrine of Economic Determinism is not refuted when one has refuted Materialism. A wider

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Naturalism, the concomitant of a radical democracy, a democracy which is more than a form of government or a social system, but is—in the words of Professor Dewey—a "metaphysic of the relation of man and his experience to Nature," such a Naturalism and democracy is the real basis of Economic Determinism. It is not difficult, perhaps, to refute Materialism; it is above all else difficult rightly to estimate the common motive of this Naturalism and this democracy.

There is another close connection between the democratic motive and the doctrine of Economic Determinism besides this, their common rejection of all energy, all ideals, all freedom which are not the expression of a wholly natural situation. The more completely the democratic motive works itself out, the more completely the modern world throws off all allegiance to transcendent and supernatural norms, the more emphatic becomes the thought of the complete kinship of man's whole moral and intellectual life with nature. Man is no longer thought of as belonging to two opposed orders, a divine and a natural, an intelligible and an empirical, a moral order and a cosmic order. It follows at once that the only possible method which man possesses for understanding, for organizing, for introducing order into the social and moral world, is the method which is alone serviceable in the world of nature, namely, the method of natural science. Democracy and natural science are thus regarded as the two chief results of the intellectual revolution of the modern world. Science becomes the method of democracy, and democracy has lost all interest in belittling nature, in *not* frankly accepting the results of science, in trusting in something other than natural science to discover and define reality. And whoever says this, leaves one to infer that metaphysics, in all of its traditional forms, is the method natural indeed to the mediaeval and feudal world based upon inequality, upon fundamental dualisms and oppositions, but is out of place in democracy. The distrust of all traditional metaphysics, not because its answers are wrong, but because its problems are meaningless and its

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methods irrelevant to the modern situation—a distrust which is so characteristic a feature of much contemporary philosophy, has here its roots.

Now the theory of Economic Determinism is a way of asserting that the social and the moral problem, the human problem, is to be approached and solved, if at all, only through the use of the same method which the engineer uses in building a tunnel, or which the physician uses in scientifically healing disease. Man's control over nature, his industry and his technology, his ability to manipulate and rearrange natural objects and energies depends upon the knowledge of what we are accustomed to call the "laws of nature." Only when nature is depersonalized and stripped of everything moral is science possible, and upon natural science is based all rational practice and activity having to do with man's control over nature, his technology and his applied arts. It is but the conscious extension to the social world of this idea of a rational practice and technology based upon natural science which Economic Determinism expresses. If our control of the social world, of social and economic organization is to be rational, it must be based on a knowledge of the measurable, objective, natural forces which are operative within the social and economic order. The social problem for the democracy whose conscious method is the method of natural science is first, the problem of discovering what are the natural, objective forces and relations in the social order, and secondly, the task of converting such scientific social theories into social practice. Economic Determinism is a statement of precisely such objective and natural forces upon which the whole social structure is thought to depend. Economic Determinism thus apparently offers the possibility of a rational social art, a social practice based upon a knowledge of social realities, in precisely the same way in which the arts of hygiene or medicine or engineering, in so far as they are rational, are based upon a knowledge of biological, physiological, and physical realities. Any one individual defender of Economic Determinism may have his own ver-

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sion of what precisely these social realities and forces are, and of the mode in which they operate. The essential part of the concept of Economic Determinism is satisfied as long as these natural, social forces are thought of as presented to our scientific observation for patient analysis and description, rather than as, in any sense, initiated by us. The point at which Economic Determinism most closely touches the interests and the problems of philosophy is precisely here. As an application of the Materialism of the middle nineteenth century, Economic Determinism has little more than an historic interest for us now; as the method of applying natural science to social institutions, and as a method of formulating the relations between social theory and social practice, as an implication of the conscious synthesis of radical democracy and natural science, Economic Determinism is shot through with a multitude of philosophical problems and issues.

Before taking up some of these issues, it will be in place here to say something about a possible difficulty with the account of Economic Determinism which I have just given. Have I not confused that doctrine of Economic Determinism which forms the theoretical basis of scientific Socialism, with a much wider and more general concept, the concept namely of applying our knowledge of social laws and processes to the field of social practice? And was not this latter concept urged by many long before any theory of Economic Determinism was in the air, and has it not been defended by many who would vigorously reject the narrower concept of Economic Determinism? This possibility of constructing a new social order, or at least of consciously intervening in the social and economic order by means of a social technique founded on a social science, was clearly perçeived by Francis Bacon, it was more or less clearly in the minds of the French radicals of the eighteenth century, and in the early nineteenth century was made the central motive in the Positivism of Comte. It has, too, been more or less consciously in the minds of those who in increasing numbers since the

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teachings of Comte, and specially among his own countrymen, have felt that Ethics, in so far as it attempts to say anything at all about concrete ways of acting ought to be an applied psychology and an applied sociology in the same sense as hygiene is applied physiology. But not all those who contend that a sound ethics is an applied descriptive science, rather than a supposed normative science, would assent to the doctrine of Economic Determinism. And yet I cannot avoid thinking that on the whole this wider rejection of ethics as a normative science and its definition as an applied descriptive science, points very definitely in the direction of Economic Determinism. Both he who insists that ethics should be entirely a positive science based upon a descriptive knowledge of objective, social realities and social processes, and he who holds to the narrower and more rigid doctrine of Economic Determinism—both view the world of human relationships, of social institutions, of moral values in essentially the same way in which, very rightly, the engineer views the objects and energies which confront him as awaiting a rearrangement and a reorganization. Any one who faces the social world in this spirit, who defines the ethical problem in this "positive" way, will be looking for the natural forces and causes and relations—forces which are wholly independent of individual caprice and of supposedly ideal values; in short, he will be looking for objective economic relations and forces in the broader and original meaning of the word "economic." The common, underlying assumption of both Positivism and Economic Determinism is that the ethical and social problems of human life are of the same type as the problems of the engineer and the physician, and are to be solved in an essentially similar way. Both the positivistic ideal of a social organization based wholly on a knowledge of social forces, and the Economic Determinism upon which scientific Socialism rests are born of the union between the motive of radical democracy and the method of natural science. And both Positivism and Economic Determinism issue from a confidence in

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the complete kinship of man and nature, the complete similarity of the social and moral world with the natural world, and hence a confidence in ordering and controlling both worlds through a practice based upon natural science. And this confidence, this Naturalism is, in its turn also, fostered by the temper of radical democracy and the method of natural science when generalized and when frankly accepted as final and as comprehensive of all reality. So close are we to the troubled problems of modern and of contemporary thought when we seek to analyze the background of Socialism, and its fundamental doctrine of Economic Determinism.

It is to a group of such related problems that I now turn. And let me approach these problems by calling attention to an ambiguity in the concept of the rational organization of human life and human effort, in the idea of a social practice founded on reason, on insight rather than on caprice or prejudice or arbitrary tradition. Every lover of reason as opposed to caprice, of inclusiveness and organization as opposed to disorder and disorganization ought warmly to welcome and espouse the cause of Socialism, if the sort of rational organization of human life and social institutions which Socialism has in mind, is the one logically possible and consistent way of applying reason, order, and principal to human effort. Again, were this concept of the organization of human life wholly unambiguous and alone inevitable, then scientific Socialism with its positive assertion about the way of utilizing and controlling the basic economic and social forces of human life, would be the one legitimate and consistent outcome of the Socratic and Platonic insight that only a well organized life based upon reason, upon principle, is fit to be lived by human beings. Indeed August Comte and his followers have insisted that this fundamental Socratic insight is the real beginning of Positivism, of the attempt to make morality rational by basing it upon sociology, just as hygiene and medicine are rational only when based on the biological sciences. What else could Socrates have intended by his incessant appeal to the virtue, the excellence,

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the art of the shoemaker, and the navigator, arts which are rational in so far as they are based upon an adequate knowledge of simple matters of fact? And, so Positivism continues, Plato, instead of completing this Socratic insight, really betrayed it through his supposition that reason and knowledge relate man to another world, absolute and transcendent. This betrayal found its completion and was fostered upon men's minds through the influence of the Christion tradition, through mysticism; it became crystalized in modern idealism, and it was not until the nineteenth century that, through the double influence of democracy and science, the original Socratic insight was recovered, and the possibility of using knowledge for the organization and control of all human life once more recognized. And Socialism, through its doctrine of Economic Determinism is, as we have amply seen, but the most explicit form which this concept of the organization of life has assumed.

But now, there is another way of defining the organization of life and society. It rests upon the fact that the task of social organization is complicated because of a factor which the engineer never finds in his application of theory to practice. This factor is the vast network of purposes, of conscious interests, of conflicting wills, which exist in any social order and which are absent in the physical order as the natural sciences conceive that order. Because of this characteristic of the social, the moral order, the organization of man's social life must mean something different from the control of natural, objective forces and energies whether economic or physical. The whole sting of the social problem, as it has been felt by the keenest and the sanest of our modern critics differs radically from such problems concerning the nature and interplay of objective forces and facts as baffle, say, the engineer or the physician. This difference is not to be sought for in the fact that the social and economic relations and forces are more complicated, more difficult to describe and to plot than are physical forces and relations. Such may indeed be the case, but it is irrelevant.

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The moral search for an inclusive interest, a plan of life in which conflicting purposes are reconciled, differs from the scientific search for objective relations and sequences. It is only through ignoring the presence and the meaning of purposive activities, of conscious interests and intentions, that one could formulate an ethical or a social problem as the task of applying sociological or economic or physical theories to social practice. The organization of social life is not the organization and rearrangement of an external, objective situation; it is the organization of purposes and interests and wills. That form of Socialism which is based on the doctrine of Economic Determinism, as its central dogma, ignores this. It is, in its essence, a vast proposal to attempt the organization of human, social activities on the analogy of such control over nature as natural science gives us. And this proposal *seems* to promise so much just because we all want organization instead of caprice, order instead of chaos. So far has the insight of Socrates and Plato become a part of our own lives. And yet, not in this way did Plato understand the meaning of the organization of life, of the application of theory to practice. The life of reason was for Plato, at the very least, a life in which partial purposes, fragmentary impulses and desires were organized into one comprehensive desire, and made to contribute to the achievement of a single, supreme ethical goal. It is instructive to note that whoever defines the social or the moral problem on the analogy of problems faced by the engineer or the physician, finds meaningless and wholly out of place any concept of one single and inclusive goal or moral ideal, one absolute and final *summum bonum*. Nor is this at all to be wondered at. The knowledge which the engineer or the physician makes use of in his application of theory to practice, in his attempt to organize and control his objects is, as the Pragmatists are always telling us, wholly relative to a particular, concrete situation. What place in the engineer's practice does the concept of a supreme good, an absolute norm play? None at all. Why should the moralist or

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the student of social problems then, find such a concept useful if he is to attempt the same for his problems which the engineer does for his? Now while the situation is by no means as simple as traditional morality has often supposed it to be, yet if, as has seemed to us to be the case, the world of social institutions is a world of many purposes and conscious interests which await rational organization in a sense different from that in which any objective set of facts and forces can await organization and control, then indeed significance and value may attach to the concept of *the good*, which is rationally compelling in proportion to its inclusiveness and coherence. But this is aside from our main concern. We wish to know what anyone is committed to who defines the task of the organization of life, the application of knowledge to practice, in a way analogous to the familiar and successful application of theory to practice in industry and technology. For we have seen reason to believe that the concept of Economic Determinism is the theoretical justification for extending to the world of social and moral activity just that idea of organization and control. And we have also, if I mistake not, seen good grounds for doubting the success of any such enterprise precisely because no real moral or social problem ever presents us merely with the facts to be surveyed and analyzed from without; it presents us with conflicting interests, clashing loyalties, fragmentary purposes, all somehow calling for inclusion in more and more comprehensive interests and purposes.

I have used the expression "conscious interests" and "purposive activities" to designate the characteristic facts of the moral and social order which get left out when one defines the organization of human effort in terms of Positivism and Economic Determinism. And now we are in a position to point out at once the reason why both Positivism and Economic Determinism define the task of the rational organization of life in the way in which they do. It is that both Positivism and Economic Determinism imply, and are based upon, a certain conception of conscious life and con-

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scious energy, a conception which is also to be found in some ways of thinking which seem remote enough from the theory of Economic Determinism, and which play no inconsiderable part in contemporary philosophical discussions. The theory of Economic Determinism, as well as the wider Naturalism and Positivism of which it is but a specific instance, is bound up with what has recently been called a "relational" theory of consciousness. I use the term "relational" in a somewhat wider sense than that in which it has been used in recent discussions, and yet I use the term advisedly to indicate any theory which ascribes to conscious or spiritual activity only such contents, or structures or relations or values as are derived from some *external* field defined in realistic fashion—that is, as itself wholly independent of consciousness. And since, for such a view, everything found within consciousness but reflects an external situation and is conceived as being derived from such an objective order, we may speak of this view of conscious activity as a *borrowed* theory of consciousness. When taken radically, the "borrowed" concept of consciousness denies that conscious activity or purpose is anything essentially different from countless other objective processes which a descriptive science might analyze and plot. Before undertaking to point out precisely in what sense the theory of Economic Determinism implies such a relational, borrowed or thoroughly objective account of conscious activity, let me briefly indicate how certain well known and fundamental issues in philosophy can be so stated as to be seen to turn essentially upon whether conscious activity is defined in relational or borrowed terms, or in terms of some underived activity and life of its own. This will help to explain what is here meant by a theory of conscious activity as borrowed, and will also place in a clearer light the real philosophical background of Socialism.

The debate between the two most prominent theories about the relation between mind and body (at least most prominent till recently), the theories of parallelism and in-

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teraction, depends, in part, upon whether one conceives of consciousness as borrowed or as underived. Any theory of parallelism holds that for every content and structure and relation in the conscious order, a corresponding content and structure and relation in the physical order is discoverable, so that it is *as if* consciousness were the reflection and duplicate of an external, non-conscious order. It everywhere bears the borrowed imprint of the physical order, so far as its structure is concerned. On the other hand, the theory of interaction attributes to consciousness *some* ways of acting, some powers, some structures which are not merely the replica of corresponding physical structures, but which are underived and unborrowed. I do not intend to imply that whoever rejects the relational or borrowed theory of consciousness, and holds to an activity theory is therefore bound to accept Interactionism as against Parallelism, but merely that there is in this philosophical problem one illustration of the more general issue concerning conscious activity. Empiricism, as a theory of knowledge, is another form which the borrowed theory of consciousness has assumed, and I think it is a significant way of viewing the long history of Empiricism to regard it as the history of attempts to understand the meaning of knowledge and truth, if one assumes that all spiritual activity is borrowed and not underived. I must content myself here with barely reminding you of the way in which, in its traditional form, Empiricism has pictured the process of equipping the mind with ideas and with knowledge. It is essentially a process of borrowing, whereby the mind, originally blank and empty, in some mysterious fashion borrows from nature's storehouse its impressions, its ideas, all its contents and its structures. On the other hand, Rationalism, in all its many forms, has defended the thesis that such knowledge as we actually possess is unintelligible unless the mind, or the reason, or the categories contribute to knowledge something of their own, something unborrowed from objects. Again, the newer Empiricism, the Radical Empiricism made so familiar and so ap-

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pealing to us through the work of James, is chiefly an outcome of the view of consciousness, of spirit, as borrowed and not autonomous. Indeed, James was unable, in his later thinking, to state or defend Radical Empiricism, without at the same time explicitly defending a relational, a realistic theory of consciousness. Let us note now, the analogy between the way in which the spirit of Economic Determinism must view conscious activity, and the way in which an explicitly relational view of mind regards conscious activity. The theory of Economic Determinism asserts: there is a world of objective forces and relations which constitute the economic structure and background of a given epoch. All activities, all values, all energies which are real and significant must be drawn from this natural storehouse of economic forces. Economic Determinism, like the relational theories of consciousness, rejects the notion of conscious activity, or the self, or the moral order as possessing any unborrowed values or energies or contents of its own. For the relational theory of consciousness, the world of conscious and spiritual activity is but the inert focus in which objects get related together in such a way as neither to be altered, nor added to, nor transformed in any manner whatever. For the theory of Economic Determinism, all social institutions, all moral values, all that belongs to the life of the individual and society is but the inert focus in which natural forces, biological and economic values, get related together in such a way as neither to be altered, enriched, nor augmented, nor in any manner transformed.

But now, having thus pointed out that the theory of Economic Determinism implies a relational or borrowed concept of conscious activity, we can carry our analysis of the philosophical background of Socialism one step further. That step consists in noticing one common feature of all those doctrines and points of view which imply such a view of conscious activity as borrowed. All such views imply that consciousness or the self, in terms of whatever borrowed contents it may happen to be defined, is inevitably thought

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of as theoretic, as a bystander and contemplator of the world and not as an agent which contributes something to the world, or indeed, which of itself achieves anything at all. It is thus the formulation of a presupposition, the expression of an attitude which is of far-reaching significance. It is the theoretic, the contemplative, the aesthetic attitude. In Greek thought, where this attitude was on the whole consistently maintained, it was an expression of that love for aesthetic contemplation of form, of objects given in their entirety, of a reality whose nature can be comprehended only as one stands off, as it were, and passively views the object before him. In this aesthetic attitude, the attitude of the bystander, the essence of the whole situation is the absence of anything to urge one on to action or the fulfillment of purpose.

We are not now as remote as it might seem in all this discussion from just those philosophical influences which contributed to the formulation of Economic Determinism by the founder of scientific Socialism. Karl Marx and the other young "Hegelians of the Left" believed that they had found in the philosophy of Hegel just this notion, that the individual is simply a meeting point, a concretion of universal and objective forces, and that he borrows all his substance from that objective world, without himself contributing anything, or modifying anything. They took over from Hegel what they supposed to be there, and to be the one true outcome of his thinking, namely a belief in the invincible reality of vast cosmic processes which carried with them everything particular and individual. But there was an enormous difference between the two ways in which these more-than-individual forces and energies were thought of by Hegel and by Marx. For Hegel, as for Plato, they were loaded with ideal values, with a maximum of coherence and meaning. For Marx they were the physical and biological forces of economic necessity. And, wholly apart from any question about the individual, consciousness, *Geist,* at least, was in Hegel's philosophy the origin and locus of all values; but for Marx, consciousness and all spiritual activity but re-

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flected external biological and economic forces. Even if Hegel's philosophy did imply a theory of the individual as borrowed, it did not imply a theory of consciousness as borrowed.

We have seen that the theory of Economic Determinism carries along with it the belief in a relational or inactive theory of consciousness, and that such a theory is the theoretical formulation of the purely aesthetic or contemplative attitude. There is time here for only the briefest indication of the reasons why I should hold that the entire conception of consciousness upon which Positivism and Economic Determinism are based is wholly inadequate. In the long run it would seem to be true that the concepts and categories and habits of thought which are derived from the aesthetic-contemplative attitude are not able to deal with, or to express the active life of consciousness as the modern individual has come to be aware of that activity. Modern philosophy has been one long struggle to find concepts and categories which *are* suited to the moral, the active consciousness of the modern individual, and the active part of consciousness is always the part which is not relational, which is not borrowed from any world of objects. The change which has come over life and philosophy from the Greek world to the modern world—a change in which Christianity played the chief part—is the transition from the aesthetic, contemplative attitude to the ethical and moral attitude. One can observe in St. Augustine the struggle to reconcile the traditional Greek attitude with the new Christian concept of the life of conscious activity whose function is not contemplation, but the moral fulfillment of a divine purpose. In mediaeval philosophy there was the problem of the primacy of the intellect or of the will, but the first confident and well-founded assertion about what it means really to think through the ethical, the activity concept of consciousness, is to be found in the philosophy of Kant. Nothing short of this is the significance of the primacy of the practical reason and of moral autonomy. Not only may we say that an activ-

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ity, an idealistic concept of consciousness and of the self is better fitted than a relational or realistic concept of consciousness to express the experience and the attitude of the modern individual; there are also definite and positive reasons for believing in such an idealistic concept. Here I can only say that neither knowledge, nor the self, to my mind, can be dealt with satisfactorily unless one makes use of some concept of conscious, spiritual activity. But I can neither explain nor justify this assertion here.

Let us go back to where we started from. We saw that the theory of Economic Determinism was the theoretical justification for extending to the world of social institutions that concept of the dependence of practice upon theory which is so successful in the world of physical objects and energies. We asked whether it was fair to assume that this method with all its presuppositions could likewise be applied to the moral world. We questioned it because it seemed that a moral problem—and, yes, every social problem—was a problem about the significance and the organization of one's activities, one's purposes, the organization of conflicting interests and wills. And we are now able perhaps to see the deeper reason for our doubt. It lies in the fact that wherever there is consciousness, there is something more than, or different from, any objects which can be described or appropriated by a mere contemplator and bystander. A world in which consciousness plays any part is not a world whose whole truth is statable in terms of objective description; it is not a world whose truth could be appropriated by one who should patiently set about to observe all the natural relationships and sequences among objects, and then try to use his knowledge to rearrange some of the relations. Conscious activity, activity which is possible because consciousness or spirit possesses a reality of its own, is loaded with values of its own—this is the one characteristic of the moral world which makes of no avail Positivism, Naturalism, Economic Determinism. The problem of the modern world—a quite different problem from any which the Greek

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world faced—has been the problem of giving an account of conscious activity, recognizing it fully, but without reverting to any crude piecemeal Supernaturalism or Animism. The strength of all Naturalism and Positivism lies in the assumption that once you introduce the concept of activity, neither knowledge, science, nor anything orderly and rational is any longer possible. Modern Idealism marks the faith of the modern world that some other alternative, which can reconcile both order and activity, both facts and values, is possible.

There is one final topic to which I would ask your attention. It has to do with the significance of that general motive of democracy, which has entered into modern Socialism. There is an ambiguity in the term "democracy," which has its roots in some considerations that are closely related to those theories of consciousness which we have been discussing. The democracy which is usually appealed to in support of Socialism is a democracy which distrusts every reference to any moral order which transcends the natural, social order. This is the democracy which finds its consummation in thoroughgoing devotion to the empirical values of the social world, to the quantitative increase of the social consciousness. This democracy is the social sentiment which is the accompaniment of Naturalism. But modern democracy had its birth in the religious postulates of Calvinism, of Puritanism, in a mode of thinking according to which the individual is significant not because he exists as a natural fact, but because he belongs to a divine and transcendent order. Here are suggested two kinds of democracy. The one is a mere numerical, factual democracy; the other is a moral democracy. Is it not obvious that we are here dealing with specific applications of our two theories of consciousness, of the self? Democracy is ethical, autonomous, only if the individual possesses a nature in some sense autonomous, not wholly derived from nature, not wholly borrowed. I cannot but count it a grievous error when certain of the neo-Kantian writers find a fundamental alliance between Marxian Socialism and

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Kant's doctrine that no rational being is ever to be treated as means, but always as end. It is the ambiguity in the concept of democracy which is the source of such a confusion as this. For a merely numerical democracy, all fundamentally moral distinctions lose their meaning. Unless your consciousness is active, unless you are more than a contemplator and observer of objects from without, all things will be equally good and equally bad, equally true and equally false. This was essentially the reply of Socrates to the Sophists; it is forgotten and disregarded by all of the many spiritual descendants of the Sophists. In an essay on *Maeterlinck's Philosophy of Life,*[2] Professor Dewey has used language which well sets forth the motive of that radical democracy which rejects the autonomy of moral distinctions, the primacy of active consciousness. He says in speaking of Maeterlinck's invincible sense of the democracy of life and its experiences, "All of our experiences, all the experiences of all men, are equally penetrated by the genuine and the infinite energies of nature. If we still call some hours and some men heroic, noble, sublime, and others trivial, menial; if we still think and designate in terms of superiority and inferiority, it is because the ignorance of feudalism and the romance of mythology still weigh us down." If our estimate of the basis of this conception of democracy, the assumption that consciousness and the individual are but the reflection of external, natural energies, borrowing all their contents and their value from such energies—if our estimate of this has been at all adequate, then we may know that it is not this kind of democracy which suits the temper and the need of the modern world.

All that I have said may seem to many, if not to all of you, remote enough from practical Socialism. What bearing has the philosophical background of scientific Marxian Socialism upon the political and economic belief that no wealth-producing wealth ought to be privately owned? This much bearing it would seem to have. One's estimate

[2] The Hibbert Journal, July, 1911.

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of the value of any such practical plan will depend, not upon the way in which one relates it to the objective, economic forces and tendencies, but upon the effect which he conceives it would have upon the organization of human life in the ethical sense. Would the socialization of property contribute to the moralization and the socialization of the will, to the true union of purposes and wills in which alone there is strength and value? I know not, but if an idealistic interpretation of consciousness and life be sound, then it is this question which is uppermost, which ought to, and which will determine the future of Socialism. That Socialism, if freed from Naturalism and from a rigid interpretation of Economic Determinism, may contribute to the organization and the enrichment of human life is indeed possible. Whether or not it does so will depend upon the possibility of interpreting Socialism in a way which conforms to the moral, the ethically active consciousness of humanity, and especially of our modern world.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT*

BERT J. MORRIS

Those who hold that political institutions are based on a social contract agree in assuming that men lived in a "state of nature" prior to the formation of the civil state. Further they agree in assuming that the "state of nature" was not gradually superseded by a more highly organized state, but that it was deliberately abandoned by common consent. The moment, however, that one asks for positive characteristics of the "state of nature" opinions begin to diverge. Most of the writers before the time of Hobbes implicitly assume that the "state of nature" was some kind of a social state. In this social state the family or clan was the unit. The family was held together not by political laws and regulations but by social instincts and impulses. Whatever else might have characterized man in his natural state, one thing seems certain, with these writers, he lived a social life. The contract that put an end to the "state of nature" did not establish society, it only transformed unorganized society into organized society in which laws were established and enforced by one to whom authority had been given by the consent of all.

Beginning with Hobbes most of the later writers assume that the "state of nature" was pre-social as well as pre-civil. The individual lived a solitary life satisfying his desires and

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providing for his needs freely in the way he liked best. The only restraint he knew was the restraint of physical force. Hobbes and Spinoza. as is well known, characterized this "state of nature" as one of war in which every man was the enemy of every other man. Locke and Rousseau, on the other hand, think of this pre-social state as, on the whole, free from strife and characterized by individual freedom and happiness.

However, Locke and Rousseau agree with Spinoza and Hobbes that men consented to give up some of their natural rights and accepted the constraints of political society in order to receive protection in the pursuit of the natural rights that were left. The essential assumption underlying the social contract theory, is, then, that man found himself in a state of nature and contracted himself out of that state. This assumption, apparently so simple when concisely stated, involves several problems which are not so easily solved. Of these problems we will consider three: First, what are natural rights? second, what constitutes civil authority? and third, to what extent should social control interfere with individual rights? We will discuss these problems in the order in which they were just now stated.

First, then, what are natural rights? The advocates of the social contract theory affirm that "natural rights" are based on the natural interests, desires, powers, etc., which man possessed in "the state of nature." With this general statement, agreement in regard to just what natural rights are begins to fade away. Cusanus, Hooker, and Grotius, the originators of the contractual origin of the state, assume that natural rights are determined by reason. The universe, for them, naturally falls into three realms; the realm of human desires, interests, appetites, etc.; the realm of divine will and power, and a third realm, lying somewhere between these two. This third realm was usually referred to as nature. In it were to be found not only the particular facts that are so subject to change and decay, but also eternal and immutable principles or laws underlying these particu-

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lar facts. These laws may be discovered by man, not through his instincts, impulses and individual interests, but solely through the exercise of reason. But the realm of human interests is dependent on the realm of nature. Hence the laws of nature should hold in the realm of human nature. This also because reason, which is the highest faculty in man, is not only the best guide to a useful understanding of the natural environment, but identical with the fundamental law of nature. The rational side of man's nature unites him with external nature which conditions man's every act. Man's natural rights are, therefore, determined by reason.

The clearest and fullest expression of this view is found in the writings of Grotius. With him the natural rights are not what the individual's interests and desires demand but what his rational nature will approve. Since man, as Grotius assumes, is social by nature, reason sanctions those things that render society stable. "No individual and no nation can predicate moral excellence of that conduct which conduces merely to an immediate and individual advantage. Self-interest, regardless of the interest of other men, is no rational criterion of what is right and wrong, just and unjust. Society—humanity—would be impossible under such a standard. The prescriptions of a wider code are inevitably implied in the existence of the race, and whatever reason shows to belong to that code is the content of natural law";[1] and therefore constitutes natural rights.

Coming down to Hobbes, we find a view of natural rights exactly the reverse of Grotius' view. With Grotius there is no clear distinction between natural law and natural rights. In fact, he uses the terms interchangeably, although he makes natural rights rest finally on natural law. This, of course, is a source of much confusion, and tends to render his meaning obscure. Hobbes attempts to avoid this confusion by making a clear distinction between natural rights and natural law. "Natural right," he declared, "signifies

[1] Dunning: Political Theories, vol. 2, p. 167.

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simply the liberty possessed by every man of doing what seems best for the preservation of his existence. . . . Natural law, on the other hand, implies primarily restraint rather than liberty. It designates a rule, found out by reason, forbidding any act or omission that is unfavorable to preservation. By right of nature, every man has a claim to whatever will satisfy any of his desires; by the law of nature he is obliged to renounce some part of his claim for the more certain realization of the rest. Natural rights lead to war; natural law conduces to peace and safety. This view of natural rights and natural law lent itself more readily to the social contract theory than Grotius' view did. In fact, the social contract idea was little emphasized by Grotius. It was not a social contract which each member of society made with every other member, but a political contract in which all members of society covenanted with some one to be their ruler.

Grotius would not dignify the self-interests of man by calling them natural rights. They were raw material to be used or rejected according to the dictates of natural law which meant "right reason." With Hobbes every desire, instinct, appetite, passion, that manifested itself in "the state of nature" should be recognized as a natural right. In fact, Hobbes identifies "natural rights" with "natural powers." At least in the "state of nature might was right." There was no other, and, according to Hobbes, there could be no other criterion of right and wrong, just and unjust.

So far it would seem that Hobbes keeps clear of confusing natural rights with natural law. But he does this only in part. For while in "the state of nature" might is right, in the political state might has nothing to do with right. Here right is determined by natural law. Natural law imposes restraints in the name of self-preservation. These restraints are to be accepted, because they have been consented to. But as natural law dictates consent to restraints in the name of self-preservation, so it also commands that promises must be kept; consent when once given cannot be recalled nor

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ignored. Hence not might is right, but conformity to natural law.

Here is where Spinoza differs from Hobbes. He maintains that might is right in the political state as well as in the "state of nature." The decrees of the state are right so long as and no longer than the state has the power to back them up. Civil rights are simply the powers which result from a combination of individual powers. They are, in quality, identical with natural rights. "The so-called social virtues are merely conventions through which individuals seek their particular good, hence the observance of contracts, for example, has never any more substantial guarantee than that it is the lesser of two evils . . . The essence of the state is a supreme power that is adequate to the task of compelling individuals, through hope and fear, to conform to its commands. Such power can exist only through the union of the powers of many individuals, and the sovereign is supreme only because and so far as its strength is the sum of the forces that are embodied in the individuals who form the community."

In regard to his conception of natural rights, Locke agrees more with Grotius than with Hobbes. Natural rights are determined by a law of nature which is a body of rules, discovered by reason, for the conduct of man in society. Neither in the state of nature, nor in the political state is might right. The social contract does not create new rights. It simply recognizes the rights that existed in the state of nature and seeks to protect these against violence.

Thus while Locke agrees with Hobbes in making natural rights depend on the individual's self-interests, he justifies particular rights by the law of nature as discovered by reason. This difference between Hobbes and Locke is clearly seen in their respective views of liberty. Hobbes maintains that liberty is exemption from all restraints save the individual's arbitrary caprice, while Locke holds it is exemption from all restraints save the law of nature. Liberty is, therefore, compatible with political control from Locke's

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point of view, while with Hobbes all political control is just so much encroachment on individual liberty.

Although Rousseau makes a significant contribution to the social contract theory in connection with the nature of sovereignity, he does not add anything significant to the conception of natural rights. Where he differs from his predecessors is in the vividness of his imagination and the boldness with which he mixes fancy with logical theory.

What shall we say, now, about these views of natural rights? Is there among the differences something common to all that might, therefore, reasonably be taken as the essence of natural rights according to the advocates of the social contract theory? Only a little reflection is necessary to show that all of these writers assumed that the mere presence of an impulse or appetite signified that that impulse or appetite had a right to be realized. In other words, at the basis of all these views of natural rights is the assumption that individuality consists in possessing certain natural powers and capacities.

This seems plausible and certainly can hardly be denied off hand. The assumption is more subtle, or perhaps better to say more superficial, however, than it at first sight may seem. No doubt it is thought to be based on facts and therefore entirely free from any bias or coloring due to private opinion or metaphysical doctrine. But one's general view of things is bound to have something to do with the facts which one finds. It is impossible for one to find colorless objects in the world when one has colored glasses on. In such a case in order to be true to facts, one must be metaphysical. Metaphysical, at least, enough to recognize that he has colored glasses on, and to recognize that it might be difficult for one who did not have on colored glasses to see facts just as he sees them. When one says he accepts facts just as they are and does not color them by any metaphysical theory at all, it is evident that he has become unconscious of his metaphysics. He, in effect, affirms that he has not

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only no glasses on, but that he has no eyes of his own. That things are just given to him.

The truth is, those who hold that natural rights are based on natural capacities, and that natural capacities tend to make an individual a separate and discreet entity whose existence is bound up in the desires and appetites centered in one's self, are not free from metaphysical bias. They had, it is true, torn off from their eyes the glasses of authority that scholasticism had made for them, but they, perhaps unconsciously, put on the glasses of abstract individualism. Their conception of individualism was based on assumptions which have been overthrown by science. Man did not live in a state of nature that was pre-social and solitary. It may be asked, Did these men affirm such a state to be an objective historical fact? The answer is, Whether they did or not, they nevertheless looked at the individual as though this were true. He is an individual because he has unique passions, appetites, desires which center in himself. Hence his natural rights are limited only by his power to get anything that will satisfy these desires. Blinded by their unconscious metaphysics these thinkers could not find anything so fundamental in the individual as natural powers. Their metaphysical opinions may be characterized by saying that they held the individual to be a product of nature and the most fundamental thing in nature to be power. There was nothing in the individual, as they saw him, to use the well-chosen words of Dr. Adams in his paper on Socialism, "underived" and not "borrowed" from external nature.

Thus they entirely overlooked the fact, that the essence of the individual is not the power possessed in common with infra-human beings, but the capacity to hold before himself the ideal individual he would like to be, and the power of choice whereby he could direct his natural powers toward the realization of that ideal. There is no way of distinguishing between a natural right and a natural power so long as the individual must, in order to be an individual, seek

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merely those things that satisfy interests centered in himself. Natural powers enable him to satisfy interests but they do not determine which interest should receive the preference. The only right in the matter is might. And Spinoza, as we saw, remained consistent with this view and thereby avoided the contradictions into which Hobbes fell. But, then, even in the sovereign, might makes right, and the distinction between right and power vanishes entirely.

A right as distinguished from a power arises only when an end is sought. And it is the character of the end sought that determines the character of the right. In other words it is the end that decides which natural power it is right to exercise. Natural rights do not depend on one's natural powers, except in the sense that one's powers limit his ability to realize ends. Natural rights depend rather on the selection of the end in life which a human individual is fitted to attain. They rest, then, not primarily on natural instincts, impulses, desires, etc., but on what these instincts, impulses, desires can, under the control of one's will, be wrought into. The fundamental conception of individualism, as held by the adherents to the social contract theory, is wrong. It was based on power and the individualism based on power, when left to itself, destroys itself.

The conception that power is the essence of individualism is common to much of the socialism as well as the industrial capitalism of our own day. And it is the ones who find that their power is not equal to the situation in which they find themselves that clamor for social interference in the form of socialism. On the other hand, it is those who find their power more than equal to the opposing forces that stigmatize all social control as social interference with natural rights.

The philosophical anarchist may appear for a time to escape this dilemma. The appearance is due to the emphasis which he places on the ethical nature of man. And yet when the philosophical anarchist takes as his first ethical principle, as Victor Yarros does, the Spencerian first principle of human happiness, viz: "Every man is free to do what he

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will, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of every other man," he misses the essence of the ethical individualism that escapes the dilemma mentioned above. The anarchist overlooks the fact that the essence of ethical individualism is the capacity on the part of the individual to determine his conduct by the conception that his highest perfection requires as a concomitant the highest perfection of society. If an individual could attain his highest perfection regardless of the character of his social environment, then and only then, would the anarchist's view of government be justified. From any point of view the individualism that is based on power is false. The essence of individualism is to be found in the autonomy of the individual: that is, in the capacity which a human being possesses for controlling his conduct by a conception that links his good as an individual with the common good. Ethically the individual is a person, and a person is one, in the terms of Royce, that has "loyally devoted himself to an absorbing and fascinating social cause."

The second problem which we will discuss is, What constitutes political authority or sovereignty? As far back as the middle of the sixteenth century an attempt was made to explain the idea of sovereignty by means of a social contract theory. Nicholas Cusanus, through a historical study of the early church councils, found that all the pronouncements of those councils became valid through the consent of those concerned. From this fact he concluded that consent is necessary for the validity of every law whether ecclesiastical or political. The anti-monarchical writers of the sixteenth century laid much stress on the idea that consent is necessary to constitute civil authority.

Grotius takes this for granted and consequently does not lay much stress upon it. Although he explicitly affirms that while society is based on the social impulse found in human nature, political states are instituted by contract. The contract with Grotius, as we have seen, was between each member of the community and the sovereign, and not between

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the members of society themselves. While the source of authority through consent was accepted, almost as a matter of course, Grotius labored hard to make the nature of sovereignty clear. He defines sovereignty as supreme political power, meaning by "political power that moral faculty of governing a state under which are included functions of general and special character." It is a right which may be possessed like any other right. It is the right to rule. Hence a sovereign government does not exist primarily for the good of those governed. "That such is in fact the end very often kept in view, he concedes; but this does not necessarily follow from the nature of government, and hence it affords no ground for the contention that the people are above the ruler." The sovereign may sell, barter, or will to another his right to rule, just as private property is sold, bartered, or willed to another.

Coming to the seventeenth century we find that Grotius' view of the origin of political authority is still held with certain modifications, but his account of the nature of sovereignty is questioned by all except Hobbes. The most significant modification of Grotius' view of the origin of society is, that the contract is made purely social, rather than political. That is, the contract is between each individual and every other individual and not between the individuals and the ruler. Hobbes accepted Grotius' view that sovereignty is something that an individual may or may not possess. Even though the people by their consent have given sovereign power to the one who possesses it, they cannot take it away from him even though he may by his arbitrary commands reduce them to slavery.

Spinoza agrees with Hobbes in regard to the origin of sovereignty, but denies that sovereignty is something that can be given to, but cannot be taken away from, a person. The only way the sovereign can rule is by having superior power. If the people rebel and are strong enough to carry through the rebellion sovereignty may be taken from one and given to another. Sovereignty is a right, yes, but it is

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a right like natural rights, with Spinoza, because it is a power. When the power is gone the right ceases to be a right.

Locke agrees with Hobbes and Spinoza that each individual contracts with each to form the political state. He differs from Hobbes in regard to contracting away natural rights. The only natural right each gives up is the right to judge and to punish offenses against natural rights. The end for which the social pact is formed is protection and preservation of life, liberty, happiness and property against violence. He further disagrees with Hobbes concerning the person or persons to whom the right that is relinquished is given. Hobbes held that it was given to the one who rules while Locke holds that it is given to the whole people. In this way, Locke distinguished clearly between the idea of sovereignty and the form of government which carried the sovereignty into effect.

Locke located the sovereignty in the people, but did not make clear what the sovereignty thus located was. Rousseau attempts to do this. Someone before Rousseau's time had said:

> "There's on earth a yet auguster thing,
> Veiled though it be, than parliament and king."

With Rousseau sovereignty is found neither in the king, nor in parliament, but in something back of these. This something, this "auguster thing than parliament and king," according to Rousseau, is the general will. But what is the general will? Is it a sum of the wills of all the individuals or the will expressed by the majority vote of the people? No! The general will cannot be identified with the voice of a majority, nor with the combined wills of all. It is more subtle than these, but more permanent and just. The general will, Rousseau says, is that which tends to the good of all. "There is often a great difference between the will of all and the general will. The latter only looks to the common interest; the other looks to private interests and is only a sum of the wills of individuals. That which generalizes

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the will is not so much the number of voices as the common interest which unites them. It is always right, but the judgments which guide it are not always enlightened."

Thus while Rousseau, on the one hand, recognized that the individual was governed by something more permanent than self-interest, yet, on the other hand, he continually asserted that self-interest was at the basis of individual rights. In vacilating between self-interest and the common good as the motive of action he seems to be on the verge of recognizing that the essence of individual rights is to be found in the purpose that dominates one's life rather than in one's self-interests. With this thought in mind, note the words in which he states the terms of the social contract on which a perfect state might be established. "Each of us," he says, "throws into the common stock his person and all his faculties under the supreme direction of the general will: and we accept each member as an individual part of the whole. There results from this act of association, in place of the several persons of the several contracting parties, a collective moral body, composed of as many members as there are voices in the assembly, which but receives from this act its unity, its common self, its life, and its will."

Rousseau was undoubtedly a prophet here, using language the full meaning of which he did not understand. He speaks of the general will as giving "supreme direction" to the individuals. But in so doing he seems to have some external objective power in mind, not recognizing that the supreme direction of the general will comes from the nature of the individual. That in fact he was speaking of the very same thing that Kant had in mind when he said that the practical reason imposes upon itself the command to so act that it could will its action to become universal. We see now that the direction of the general will was supreme, just because it was autonomous. It was autonomous because the individual by virtue of that power which is the essence of individuality, asserted that his own good is closely connected with the common good. This is certainly implied in Rous-

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seau's statement and yet he could not get away from the idea that self-interest was the essence of individuality. He himself was fettered by the idea common to Spinoza, Hobbes, and Locke that the essence of individuality was to be found in the primitive instincts of self-preservation, and further that force was the only means of preservation. They did not see that individuality does not consist so much in possession as in purposes and plans. When Rousseau places sovereignty in the general will, i.e. the common good of all, he is paving the way that leads to a truer understanding not only of what is the essence of sovereignty, but also of the essence of individualism.

What, let us now ask, is the essence of sovereignty according to the adherents to the social contract theory? A brief resumé will help to make this clear. Sovereignty with Grotius, Hobbes and Spinoza was a right which a person or an assembly of persons could possess as any other right. The person possessing sovereignty had the right to rule as he pleased. Spinoza modified this by saying "that the pleasure of the sovereign was limited only by the power which he possessed." And since he got his power from his subjects, he had to rule for the common good or at least make the subjects feel that he was so ruling.

Hobbes, taking sides with the monarchical party in its right against the rising democracy, affirmed that the people. since they had given up all their rights by the social contract, were now compelled to submit even though the sovereign should capriciously reduce them to a state of slavery. The same rational faculty that preferred submission to the horrors of a state of nature must now demand that the original covenant be lived up to even to the death. Hence sovereignty is, not only the power to rule, but it is an absolute unalterable right to rule as the will of the sovereign may like best. Locke opposed this view by limiting social control to the single duty of protecting rights from violence, and by maintaining that the sovereignty did not belong to the ruler, but remained in the hands of all the people. Rous-

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seau added another modification by saying that sovereignty rested in the people not as so many units of power, but rather as possessing a general will.

What, now, are we to conclude about the nature of sovereignty? When sovereignty is identified with the general will and when the general will is interpreted as Rousseau interpreted it, we have reached a view of sovereignty that is consistent with individual rights. We should say that sovereignty, ethically interpreted, is the will of the community which by its disinterestedness is capable of seeing what at any given time and under the prevailing circumstances is the minimum ideal which each member of society should strive to maintain and in the interest of all commands that each shall not strive against the maintenance of that ideal. Hence sovereignty and natural rights are not antagonistic but mutually helpful. That this is true, is the belief of those who are strenuously asserting that federal control of big business does not hinder but help legitimate business. It is confirmed by the conscience of every one who rests his individuality on his loyalty to a purpose that demands for its fulfillment the coöperation of the interests and powers of others.

This does not mean that any particular expression of sovereignty is mutually helpful to all individual rights. This, as Rousseau saw, does not necessarily follow from identifying sovereignty with the general will. And further because this or that particular expression of sovereignty may be opposed to natural rights, is no reason for saying that sovereignty is a necessary evil. This would be true if sovereignty meant restriction only. But the idea of sovereignty as the will of the community, is compatible as much with the function of leadership and inspiration as with the function of restriction.

I am surprised that this phase of sovereignty has been almost altogether overlooked by political philosophers. Of course we would not expect that politicians would see this phase of sovereignty for the simple reason that they are

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concerned primarily with man as he is or as he has been. But certainly it is the legitimate function of the political philosopher to ask, What is the true end of man? When this question is raised little doubt can be entertained as to the right, on the part of the state, to recognize the leadership and inspiration of her outstanding great men. Who will affirm that it would have been wise for society to have overlooked the leadership and inspiration, though they were expressed in the form of sovereign control, of such men as Moses, Solon, Pericles, Caesar, Charlemange, Cromwell, Bismarck, and in our own country, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln? But the idea of sovereignty as synonymous with restraint and interference must necessarily look upon the work of such men as social interference with natural rights. Hence in any case the social contract theory in order to consistently accept the work of such persons would have to take a far different view of both natural rights and sovereignty than has been propounded by any of its adherents. In practice the social contractists may count natural rights very nearly the same as the believer in a more personal view. But in so counting he is inconsistent with his theory. If one wishes to base his theory on facts, why hold to a theory after facts have been brought to light that render its application to them inconsistent? We must not only allow for the good that comes through the leadership of great men but we must also recognize that it is as natural for some men to follow as it is for some men to lead. In fact, the former far outnumber the latter. An autonomous person would cease to be rational if he did not conform his will to the leadership and inspiration of another when his reason told him that by so doing he would accomplish his purposes better. To follow the lead of others is not inconsistent with freedom. All truth is by nature a revelation, and why not accept the truth that is revealed through the personality of another as well as the truth that is revealed through natural laws?

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As exercising leadership and as giving inspiration social control not only does not interfere with the autonomy of the individual, but it serves as the stimulus necessary to bring individuals to a conscious recognition of their true character. And this means the recognition of that capacity in the individual which makes natural rights possible. Instead, then, of sovereignty being pitted against natural rights, it is itself a natural right and not a product of a social contract.

We have come, now, to our last, and perhaps the most difficult problem, namely: To what extent should social control interfere with individual rights? Grotius seems to have taken the problem the other way round. With him the question was to what extent should the individual refuse to submit to the commands of society. Since he held that the sovereign had the right to rule solely for his own interest, he could not be expected to allow the individual any right of resistance whatever. This is his position and it was very difficult for him to reconcile it with his view that natural rights are determined by "right reason." His attempted reconciliation would hardly hold today. In a sentence it was this: A command that is in conflict with the law of God or of nature must not be obeyed, but the consequences of disobedience must be endured without resistance. On the other hand when he is writing under the influence of his love of freedom, he attributes to subjects rights of resistance that are incompatible with his idea of sovereignty. But as we have seen before when sovereignty is at once identified with coercion and given absolute sway, it is a mockery to talk about subjects having natural rights.

Spinoza still clings to sovereignty as coercion, but his great insistence on rational tolerance led him to place a more significant limitation on the absoluteness of the sovereign. His limitation was, however, a limitation of the "power" rather than of the right to rule. There were three checks, according to Spinoza, on the sovereign's power. First, all action against right reason would destroy the

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unity of mind on which the power of the sovereign rested; second, the power of the sovereign was limited by the fear or hope aroused in the people; and third, extreme severity of any kind always leads to an extreme reaction. Practically these things do make against the absoluteness of the sovereignty based on power. They work, however, not because they are consistent with this notion of authority, but because they are facts which any theory of sovereignty must recognize. Here, again we see a theory still upheld when its application to facts proves it to be false.

Hobbes is even more radical than Grotius. The question, again, is not to what extent social control should interfere with individual rights, but to what extent the individual could resist social interference. As reason dictated the social contract, it must now demand that the contract be kept at all hazards. Hence the cruelest acts possible on the part of the sovereign do not excuse the individuals from the obligations assumed when the original pact was formed.

There is no wonder that Locke coming after Hobbes did not care to use the term sovereign. He, therefore, takes up the problem in the form in which we stated it originally, namely: to what extent should social control interfere with natural rights? With Locke society itself is bound to see that each individual is protected in his inalienable rights of life, liberty, and happiness. In fact as Locke held that the individuals when they made the social contract did not transfer to the sovereign any of their rights except the right to judge and punish offenses, so he held that society not only should not interfere with the natural rights of the individual, but that it should see that they were protected against violence from within as well as from without. "The happiness and security of the individual figure, not as essential to the perpetuity of the government, but as the end for which alone government is ever called into existence." Locke goes to the opposite extreme from Hobbes. When the government does not secure to the people their inalienable rights it must be superseded by another. He prepared the

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way for this by placing sovereignty in the hands of the people and making the ruler subordinate to the people. Yet, with Locke, when society acts, it acts in the form of coercion and thereby interferes with the pleasure of some individuals. Nevertheless when Locke places sovereignty in the hands of the people he opens the way to a broader understanding of the function of social control.

So long as there are two individuals having both the power and the desire to get the same material thing there will have to be one of two kinds of social control. Either the control will be might or it will be right. But when natural rights are equivalent to natural powers the two kinds of control become one, namely, might. Here is where the social contract theory inevitably ends.

The question arises: Can there be a social control based on right rather than on might? We believe there can be, and that when we follow a true interpretation of natural rights and of sovereignty we come as naturally to the control of right as the social contract theory comes to the control of might. That is, when we see that natural rights as distinguished from natural powers arise only when the individual directs his actions by the conception that his best interest is inseparable from the best interests of others, and when we add to this the insight that sovereignty itself is a natural right of this kind, then social control can be accepted as a right as well as a necessity.

What, then, is the answer to the question, To what extent should social control interfere with individual rights? It has become clear to you, I hope, before this that the answer comes by way of a restatement of the question. Before we restate the question, let us note that when we determine our natural rights by looking ahead and asking for our ideal, asking for the kind of man we most naturally ought to become, social control is recognized as a help, rather than a hindrance. And when we do thus look ahead the restrictions of society become interferences only when we select an ideal the realization of which brings us into conflict with

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those who are striving after other ideals. So long as ideals do not conflict social restrictions are like the air to the bird in its flight, they offer resistance but not interference. There appear to be only two ways to escape the conflict of ideals. One must either select an ideal that would be large enough to include all other ideals, or else choose one that could be realized entirely apart from all the rest. Neither way seems promising. The first seems entirely beyond us, and the second is impossible. Perhaps a quotation from James will indicate a way out of this dilemma. In the course of his discussion of the rivalry and conflict of the different selves, James says:

"I am often confronted by the necessity of standing by one of my empirical selves and relinquishing the rest. Not that I would not, if I could, be both handsome and fat and well-dressed, and a great athlete, and make a million a year, be a wit, a *bon vivant*, and a lady-killer, as well as a philosopher; a philanthropist, statesman, warrior, and African explorer, as well as a tone-poet and a saint. But the thing is simply impossible. The millionaire's work would run counter to the saint's; the *bon vivant* and the philanthropist would trip each other up; the philosopher and the lady-killer could not well keep house in the same tenement of clay. Such different characters may conceivably at the outset of life be alike possible to a man. But to make any one of them actual, the rest must more or less be suppressed. So the seeker of his truest, strongest, deepest self must review the list carefully, and pick out the one on which to stake his salvation."

Of course there must be a conflict if one "I" tries to makes all of these "me's" his own. The only way out of the conflict is not only repression but suppression. So only in a less degree when different "I's" try to realize all these different "me's" in one community. There must be restriction, if not suppression. When we come face to face with life, we cannot see any way round the necessity of some

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social control. The only question left open is, What limitations should be put upon social control?

Before considering the limitations, let us recall our interpretation of sovereignty. "Sovereignty ethically considered," we said, "is the will of the community which by its disinterestedness is capable of seeing what at any given time and under the prevailing circumstances is the minimum ideal which each member of society should strive to maintain; and in the interests of all commands that each shall not strive against that ideal." There is no way to separate sovereignty from the general will. And when the general will of a community selects its "me," it is with the community as with the individual: other conflicting "me's" have to be restricted or suppressed as the case may be. But in the ethical individual we recognize the suppression or restriction as self-control. Why not recognize it as the same in the social community? The social contractists could not for the twofold reason that they based both natural rights and sovereignty on force. When, however, we see that it is a mockery to speak of natural rights as natural powers and begin to recognize that natural rights arise, and can only arise, when the individual begins to determine his conduct not by his powers, but by the conception that his truest, strongest, deepest self can be realized only as he finds his good in the common good of all—when we begin to recognize this, then we will cease to speak of social control and speak rather of social self-control. This is the restatement that we must give our third problem. It will read, then, To what extent should social self-control restrict, inspire, and lead on the individual in the pursuit of his natural rights as an autonomous person? When the problem is stated in this form the answer can be given in terms of our developing civilization.

That is, civil society, instead of being "a clever usurpation" whose only function is to increase the misery of the human race, is steadily working out the answer to our problem. When we reflect on the single advantage that has

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come to the individual through the exercise of the social control of sanitary conditions we find abundant proof that social control is right and beneficial. Dr. Simpson, a health officer of Santa Clara county, told me only a few days since that the period of longevity in this country had been increased several years by sanitary regulations. And that if social control should be increased so as to carry into effect the knowledge already in the possession of the medical profession the period could still be increased at least a decade more.

This instance of health preservation could be matched over and over again in many other lines. To multiply instances is not necessary. It is clear that Rousseau's accusation against civil society is not supported by facts. Social control is admitted as a necessity by all except the individualistic anarchist, and we have already exposed the error in his view. The problem before us is, not the necessity of social control, but the extent of social control. The answer we give is, that the extent cannot be determined theoretically. Neither can it be determined in any way once and for all. Further no definite formula, such as Mill proposed, can be established that will accurately determine the limits of social control. All such attempts are fatuous. They are based on the notion that social control is foreign to individual rights. This is why we take exception to all views that attempt to determine the exact limits beyond which social control cannot go. No limits are to be set, not in order that individuality might be stamped out on the one hand, nor that political organizations might be abolished on the other. But rather that we might bring social control and individual rights into the same realm and thereby recognize that they develop hand in hand and not in opposition to one another. They stand or fall, in the long run, together. The answer, therefore, to the question, to what extent should social control interfere with individual rights, is that social interference with individual rights is a misstatement of the question. The sphere for the exercise of social interference is outside

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of the sphere of individual rights. Its legitimate field is individual instincts, desires, and appetites before these have been transformed into individual rights. When these have been transformed into rights then social interference gives way to social self-control.

Thus when the question of social interference is disposed of the question of social self-control comes to the fore. It is this question that must be answered in terms of the present state of civilization. The ills of civil society are many, but their cure is not to be found in the restriction of social control in favor of individual instincts and desires, but rather in applying the same method to social control that has been tested and found true in individual self-control.

From this point of view, the extent of social control will be determined by the ideal which the social community selects as its goal. The ideal will depend on the common will, and the common will will depend on the enlightment of the people. The conflict between society and individuals will be one of ideals rather than of interests, and these can be determined by reason, not in the abstract, but as applied to the conditions of civil society. In this way a strong faith may be established in the ongoing of civilization so that we may look forward with hope rather than backward with despair.

We will not, then, join in with Rousseau when he says that "civil society was born to give new fetters to the feeble, and new forces to the rich, to destroy beyond recovery natural liberty, to fix forever the law of property and inequality, to convert a clever usurpation into an irrevocable right, and, for the profit of a few ambitious men, to subject henceforth all the human race to servitude and misery." Civil society with all its woes is consistent with individual rights, nay, it is the source of individual rights as distinguished from natural powers. On the other hand we will not join with individualistic anarchists in their cry to abolish all government so that "every man may be free to do what he will, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of every

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other man." This would be just as impossible as for one "I" to realize all the conceivable "me's" that an imagination of a Rousseau might bring before it. In avoiding these extreme views, we will not demand an absolute standard by which to determine the exact limits of social control, but rather we will be satisfied to help construct, in company with others and out of material which civilization and free initiative may reveal, the standard of social self-control that shall obtain today.

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FROM OLIVE GROVES OF ACADEME*

JOHN GALEN HOWARD

I

Shimmer of silver, and shiver of heat,
And the incense smell of the orchard sweet,
    And the slumberous quiver
    Of noon's stagnant river;
And the lilt of the Dreamer's own heart-beat!

Silence and azure beyond and above;
Silence and silvery tints of the dove
    Around and beyond o'er the powdery fallow;
    And silvery silence of rivulets' shallow
Slipping, as whisper the lips of love!

The booming of bees in the spangle of cover
Of pungent-sweet pastures of thyme, where they hover
    And cling, swoon and swing
    Upon busy-blur'd wing,
And buss the bloom beauty with lips of the lover!

The flutter and flutter of powdery wings
Of thousands and thousands of airy things—
    Nothings—alive, and away, aflutter!
    And thoughts that like them are too swift to utter—
The wings of the song that the Dreamer sings!

Afar thro' the mists of the silvery glade,
Afar and agleam from the glimmering shade—
    A Profile swift-lifted of azurest height,
    With temples of delicate shimmering light—
A spirit of loftiness—born, and not made!

*Read at the Berkeley Club, November 21, 1912.

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The were-wan silver of shivering leaves
That scarce the noon's bosom's breathing heaves,
Whose ghostly glimmer
Than dawn-veils is dimmer,
And sheer as the woof that the Dreamer weaves!

A tangle of myriad orchardry trunk,
So writhen, so torn, so abraided, so shrunk,
So sear'd to the emberous gray of a corse
That 'twould seem from the cup of some ancient remorse
Fantastical dreamers had tasted and drunk!

Majestic i' th' midst of his slenderer fellows,
The hoary head of an ancient, whom mellows
A scantiest garland of hovering smoke
From the altar of life—nigh extinguisht by stroke
Upon stroke from the Rod that all verduring yellows!

O face of grayness! Form of fixéd flame!
What being whets thy blood, that dost conjoin,
As to no child of frailer clay is given,
Quick youth with whited age? In that gaunt shape—
O'er-rimed and cavernous as sea-gnaw'd crags,
Swart gargoyle-mask of mingled mirth and teen,
Gross and yet chaste, Athene crost with Pan—
There looms large soul-resemblance to the form
That of old time these silvery solitudes
Liven'd with converse. Dimly from the gray
Of shadow'd thought emerges once again
The sunny figure of that wiseman-fool,
The very breathing soul of question, flesht!
Hail! Master! Hail!
Whence art thou come? adown the skiey way,
Or up from meadows gray of asphodel?
These be thy paths! Anew thy sandal-shoon
Press dust made glad by that old tingling! Stay!
E'en ere thou camest, came to me a sense
As of thy nearness; for meseem'd this glade—
This glimmer of blond argence—was not gray
With sheen of olives but by grace of shades
Out of a muted past, come back again
In friendly discourse in the olden way,

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And thou amongst them. And meseem'd I saw
Yonder, most reverend, with a shimmering wreath
As of sweet incense-smoke about the temples,
Thee, or thy shade, in moving form of life.
What time thou hast been banishéd away,
I deem thy spirit, mayhap, harbor'd here,
Another Daphne—nymph whose fragrant name
Yon breathing mountain-gates inherit. For
As Daphne by hot Day's pursuit forespent
Besaught swift Zeus to save her from embrace,
And he, benignant, toucht her lissome form
To bending boughs of laurel; so thy soul,
When thou mad'st forth before the embrace of Death,
Perchance found haven in this flaming shape
Of cinder-gray from that grim lustfulness;
Perchance thro' all the changing years, the while
Thy words have flow'd with golden chrysmal oil,
Here hath thy spirit shrined and borne aloft
This silvern-changing crown of oil-fruit, here
To thrive forever, where thou wander'dst, for a sign,
Valiant and potent, of the leaping flame
Thou lightedst on Thought's altar long ago.
'Twere no unseemly home thro' lingering time
Amid such fellows; for of old this vale
To the dark god of wasting waters and to him
Who fetcht men fire was dedicate, and still
Breathes breadth and sweetness as of them—of thee
Th' essential being. Still beneath this dusk
Wends the gray ghost of the old sacred way
Where-thro' Demeter's pilgrim-flood once flow'd—
A clarion cordon of brave blazonry
That splasht the night with glory and sweet song.
And when from out night's bluest deeps pour down
Ten thousand fountain-glances, but no moon
Masks mystery with too-much-giving magic,
Still as of old in mystic measure sweep
Out of the zephyrous dimness and make way
Athwart the ensconcing dark, faint eerie forms
Of elvish dancers; and the quicken'd ear
Knows soft above the sough of the night airs
Whispers of ancient music. Still, perchance,
When souls are sweet-attuned to mother-music, walks
The spirit of that builder of big line,

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That voice of organ-thunder, Aeschylus,
Who housed anigh the House of Mystery.
His feet have trod the sacred way as well
That led beyond yon jealous-guarding gates
To dark Earthmother's sacrifice—yea, hers
The spirit was, taught by her yearly yearning,
That taught his heart to yearn to things beyond.
Filling his soul with visions palpable
Of the Forerunner who brought down the brand
From heaven, rear'd the House of Memory,
Mother of wisdom, very life of life,
And heartht in the blind gloom the star of hope.
O he and thou be kin—breathe selfsame air,
Torn with a selfsame torture. Unto ye
Came forth the awful voice of Largeness, hoarse
From whelming gloom, breathing salt counsel;
And all the vocal daughters of the deep
Cheer'd thine imprisonment. Titan Prometheus
Gave to the errant mother of thy race,
Chosen of Zeus to be an instrument,
Far forecast o'er her goaded pilgrimage;
As he to Io, thou to Io's seed,
Gav'st vision of a future hour far-seen
When from young loins, god-quicken'd, should come forth
In fullness of slow time, slow-riping Power
As of the lightning, nurst in secret lairs
Of quietness until with sudden flame
Forth leaps the bolt and downs all dominance.
So springs to life the Individual—
All bonds struck off, that thence the Man emerge
Each after his own image, self-erect
In wise of proper godhead, 'fore the world!
Out of the agony of bloody sweat
And torture-piercéd hands alone comes strength;
From smitten hearts pours dear deliverance.
He that gave freedom, giving but the flame—
Thou that gav'st flame in giving freedom form—
Ye twain must people ever this gray world,
Brothers, that stand upon the verge of thought
And look out o'er unbridg'd immensity,
Chain'd tho' in body, yet in soul unbound!

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II

Silence—save only the sigh of the river—
Or is it the breath of the breeze's first shiver
Aroused from the breast of the slumbering noon,
Or tossing beneath still oblivious swoon?
Or is it the dreams of the Dreamer that quiver?

A sense as of pinions upon which the day
Hath lifted for soaring—a sense of a sway
Made light as the softest caresses of love—
A sense as of skies that have open'd above—
A sense of the spirit at large and away!

Silence and silver and azure—but o'er and beyond,
And beneath, and between, mystic lips that respond
From the palpitant air to a quivering sense
Of a slumbrous delay, as of time's full suspense,
And to quivering questions—of Time—and beyond—

But never with answers that once and for all
Can answer the yearning's importunate call,
But with questions more answerless still than the last,
That shrivel the asker as leaves in the blast,
As moths at a cresset, must shrivel and fall!

On a gust of awakening, buffeted, blown,
The wings of the Dreamer have flutter'd and flown
To a land where no more is the spirit in bond
But lighten'd—enlarged—at the wave of a wand—
No more at the mercy of dreams, nor alone!

I wander'd once, when morn was in the sky
And summer breathed a golden effluence
Sweeter than gold Hymettus, where the hills
Lay blossoming; and friends, as intimate
As is the inmost secret of one's soul—
Its deepest deep ideal—walkt with me.
Our way led high along the bushy steeps
Where, in the olden time, had pioneers
Who sought for treasure in the golden earth
Trencht and deflower'd voluptuous loveliness—
Earth's softest warmth of hilly blossoming—
To bring the tearing torrents from the heights
Tame and subservient to their purposes.

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That time of violence had long gone by,
Once glean'd the gleaming grains impalpable,
And Earth, left ravaged and despised, again
And yet again thro' long and healing years
Renew'd her loveliness, forgot her scars,
And, for her very ravishment, more fair
And more alluring blossom'd. Once again
A later generation of mankind,
Wiser and kinder, yet more wise than kind—
Rough husbandmen who glimpst but bursting barns
And gleaming garners where such lushness laught—
Beheld her beauty and the treasure clean
Earth hid within her bosom; and once more
Some came with plowshares, some with searching fire,
And tore her sweetness, leading their curb'd streams
In myriad channels down denuded steeps
And thro' the ruddy barren, till the land
Was all a heaving tartan of burnt gold
Inwoven with live silver. Orchards then
And vineyards sprang where incense-fragrant pine,
And arras-umbraged sycamore, and birch,
The spirit-shining, once led quiet lives,
And all the shrubby vesture of the slopes.
Yet watcht those banisht ever nigh at hand,
Pressing upon the order'd husbandry
And ready on the instant to preëmpt
Neglected furrows; every caving bank
Harbor'd old ranklings of deep-rooted quick,
Alert to burgeon; every seeping rill
Prickt the live vitals of the ancient soil
To memories of mastery; till life,
Whole and unconquerable, came again
Into its own of beauty, and the land
We saw together on that summer's morn
Made royal circumstance of verdancy,
Nothing uncared for by or wild or sown,
Nought wanting for perfection. Of us then
One—whom long hours of midnight sleeplessness
Had brought to look on darkness and the void
As breathing beings, and whose soul was dry
With scorch and searching of their ceaseless blast,
Nor knew wherewith to quench the biting thirst
Save at those friends' o'erflowing amphoras—

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Looking upon the complex of bright streams
Which in and out wove thro' the gardens cried;
"How surely man large things diminishes
For his poor profit! These thin laxing strings
Of silence once were diapason chords
Of awful music from the crags, and swept
Their choral of hoarse madness thro' the gorge
With shout of battle and the boom of horse;
Till, tamed and nose-led by his thrifty rein,
Man bade them plow his plantage!"—"Nobler fate,"
Flasht from another, whose sweet tongue of flame
Withers with kindest scorn all littleness
Unworthy—"nobler far, than aimlessly
To wimple down a trite and lazy bed,
For very multitude of waters lost
To selfhood and to service!"—Then a voice
Rich with the gift of giving, and in gift
Silent almost as gifts of orchard rills—
"Is it not larger to be lost like this,
Kindling the tender tendrils of the vine
To generous cups of fragrant fellowship,
Than to go down unkindled to the sea
And waste in wastes forever comfortless?"—
Straightway then laught a tongue at one with mind,
Sane to its tip, and sturdy—"I conceive
That waters know their idiom, and their deeds
March with necessities of nature. Man
Tortures—directs—their powers to his needs,
In this obeying nature in himself
But not, so doing, changing nature's need
In idiom of waters. Why set up
These fine-spun human standards which obscure
The one essential issue? Which is big—
To waste, or to increase? To waste must mean,
If carried logically to its end,
Merest annihilation; to increase,
Develop out, is full infinity."
Then spake another, soon—"Is not all life,
All being, change?—and life extends,
At least so far as this our thought concerns,
Into the outmost of existent realms.
Life is all being; being is all change;
And change is all infinity. Where then
Shall we draw lines betwixt the 'idiom,'

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As one has said, of waters and of man?
Is not the idiom of each, and of all being,
But fluxing idiom of infinity,
And interchangeable? 'Tis so, at least,
We small-horizon'd thinkers best project
A concept of creation. As of men
There is the soul that narrows ever down
And circumscribes its field of consciousness
Even in changing; and again the soul
Which takes the liberal air expansively
And ever as it drinks of flowing life
Knows less satiety: so seem to me
Two streams, of which the one is led
Ever and ever 'twixt more narrow bounds,
Losing its streamhood in the petty sinks
And seepage of imposed complexity—
A river system all reverst and spent,
Ceasing in stagnant shallows less than nought;
And then the other stream which out of nought
Derives its countless feeders—eager wills
Looking beyond into an unknown void
Which they are bound to flow to and fulfill
Even if losing somewhat they have dream'd
Was theirs and theirs alone—ready to risk
That final sacrifice if but the Vast
Shall be, and be forever!''—Here a pause
Like a warm wave came over and submerged
The striving thoughts, obliterating them
As separate forms, and washt them into one.
Then, as one voice for all, one said—''There's here
A glorious figure! Sometime from some page
It should shine splendid—overflowing oil
Like some rich urn whose round, with fancy prankt,
Sums and deploys all hoar antiquity;
Got from oblivion shatter'd, but to wed
New facture of imagin'd form and hold
A new gold's flowing. Yet I know not now
Whereto its sever'd edge may most fit home.''—
And so 'twas half forgotten, as a seed
Forgotten whilst it burgeons in the grave.
But now, in the ripe summer of this noon,
Its hour is come; the form whereto that thought—
Live fabric of true 'marriage of true minds'—

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Makes final marriage is this cruse of oil
From olive groves of Academe! The mind
Of golden-flowing riches which is vased
In that o'er-brimming figure is the fount
That flooded erst these silvery-shadow'd aisles
With running question, fecund to the end.
For there be minds that house up and contain
Their treasure, putting forth but for fixt ends,
And stingily by measure meting out,
Their ponded reservations. Minds are these
That hale the heart, far ranging over heaven
At graze on fragrant herb of poesy,
And stake it to conclusions—harness it
To circling tread-wheels, for a strait-trencht good
To draw dry water, and to circ the world
Within a mill-wheel's grinding. Nor say I
Such minds no fruitful contribution make
To life's eventual interpretation;
They make for purpose, and the wilds of man
Tame to the tasks of teeming husbandry.
But such was not the mind that once here-thro'—
Thro' all these gray and golden-flowing glades—
Flow'd in that endless golden questioning.
That stream made ever outward, to itself
Gathering freshets from disgorging vales,
Drinking unquenchable life's bursting founts,
But pouring, pouring, pouring to the sea;
Careless of service in its smaller sense
As making for conformity—or making form
To which conformity may proximate—
But by his very freedom giving free
Service beyond compute, in mighty flow
That floods all thought with Nile-fecundity.
His was a mind that open'd all its gates
To pour tumultuous to the outer void
To toss there ever answerless. What are our forms,
Our fixt conclusions, but our small demands
For smallness in creation? Infinite
Means answerlessness to the finite mind
And must forever mean so; and the mind
That most must question is most near, perchance,
To that august Infinity which holds,
Beyond all reach of mind, all answer. Oh!
The breath that hails from dim and dimmer space

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Over the tossing where vast rivers sweep,
Untamed, unmargin'd, to th' engulfing deep!
Thence comes, warm-borne on pinions of the night,
A sound—a sense—a vision of a dream,
Fainter than furthest star-dust down the gloom,
But bearing fragrance from some strange rich Ind
That blooms beyond the end of endless seas—
Whose lamps up-flare above the sunset's flame,
Lost and again surmized against the dark—
Whose voice breathes earnest of the yet-to-come,
The ever and forever yet-to-be . . . . .

III

Now noon is no more, for unfurl'd and afield
Far out-leaps the wind in wild squadron sharp-steel'd!
Whence cometh the voice of the wanderer loud?
Whence shineth the face of the galloping cloud?
What hand hath the gates of the ocean unseal'd?

Out of the caves of enchanted sleep
The breath of the nostrils of the deep
Comes forth with a hungrily ravening roar
Like a limitless surf on a limitless shore,
With sleeplessest, wantonest, wilfullest sweep!

Out of the stagnance and welter of noon
Hath broken her bridle the plunging moon,
And down—down the rapids of riotous day
She ramps and she breaks away—away!
To the night's dread abyss will she leap full soon!

From out of the scabbard the winds' biting sword
Hath leapt with a voice as of thunder out-roar'd!
War! war! in the places of azure and peace,
And where there is comforting, there let it cease!
With wild pallor the face of the blue is o'erscored!

No more hath the day but wherein she may house—
The winds in her innermost places carouse!
Up! chamberer! up! be thou off and abroad!—
And out of their velvet, upstartled and aw'd,
From their slumber the dreams of the Dreamer arouse.

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Now bring these winds the spirit of old time,
And I could deem me one in life with them
Who lived this land—who vitalized its forms,
Its heights and hollows, fountains, groves and skies,
With fusion of themselves—themselves infused
And vitalized with searching ichor-flood
From quickening godhead! Tired and blind and old
The world has grown these thrice a thousand years
Since from the backward-blowing veils of night
Emerged that band of morning nations, fresh
From drenching dews and eager for their day.
'*We* look before and after,' but *their* eyes
Lookt onward only, on their brow a sheen
Undrawn and dazzling, and within their veins
A pricking gladness. Still we look to them
Ere we look forward, for the larger view
And for the meaning splendor, and for joy
Unmingled with the bitterish drop that tangs
A deeper cup; and still from them receive.
Ah! what oft pilgrimage, thro' what long years,
The nations have all footed to this fount!
What wanderings, and what searchings of the heart,
Have they not suffer'd! And what welcome sure
With open arms do they not find herein,
When, old and blind and tired—like Oedipus—
They come to these gray groves for rest and cheer!
Like Oedipus? 'Tis but a song away—
A song's all too brief space of cadenced joy—
To hoar Kolonos whose low-lifting line
Swims o'er the olives in the watchet main
Of Attic oversweep all fleckless! O, the power—
The godlike power—of genius to contain
And to immortalize within one poignant word
A world of being! In the pregnant bounds
Of delicatest breath, that but efflowers the ear
And lapses into nothingness ere mind
Hath even senst the passing of its passion,
May pack the burthen of eternity!
Listen!—'*Kolonos!*'—Art thou not, O world!
Once more—thou tired and old and blind—once more
Upon the threshold? Ay, and trespassing
Upon the holy precincts of the Fates,
With, weighing on thy heart, the burthen sore
Of grievous memories? And yearnst thou not

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For hands from forth the dark to welcome thee
And give thee place for shuffling off thy pain?
Lo! thro' the crystal of this ambient air
Move toward us folk whose venerable look
Might mark them for Earthmother's priesthood hoar,
So fearful of thy trespass, yet of mien
So cordialest! And hark! There lifts a voice
Sweet as the searching sweetness of her tongue
Whom even now they celebrate! Oh! List!

"Rich, O friend, the land thou greetest,
Proudest of earth's dwellings lordly-fair—
Hoar Kolonos! O, most sweetest
Ever warbles there
Ever-faithful Philomela from beneath her boscage green,
Constant to the wine-dusk ivy, of the god unseen—
Sunless leafage, fruited, freighted, as with myriad-riping fall,
Breathless e'en thro' all
Winds of winter! Here at rapture Dionysos ever loves to slake his thirst
'Mid his nymphs, nigh sib, who erst
His babehood nurst!

"Here abounds 'neath dews of heaven,
Richly clustering for aye,
Sweet narcissus which hath even
Crown'd the mighty Mother's sway!
Here the crocus golden-gleaming
Gilds the gray with sunshine mirth!
Here Kephissos' circling streaming
From his sleepless fountains never,
Never knows of dearth;
But forever and forever
And from day to shining day,
With quickening flood
Of his pure blood
Within his sweeping way
He gleans from bosom-bearing earth
Her nest of nursling plains,
Nor Muses' quire
Nor Love's swift fire
Disdains.

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"Here lives what ne'er in Asian land
Nor by the mighty Doric strand
Burst ever bud, I know!
The tree, unhelpt of human hand,
That self-sufficing dares to stand
Against the crowding foe!
O in this favor'd soil of ours it burgeons like the bay—
On new-born child
E'er first that smiled,
The leaf of olives gray!
O ne'er, at hand of foremost foe, or be he young or old,
Shall that hoar head
Be minishéd;
For in th' all-circling fold
Of Zeus who loves
The olive groves,
And Pallas, evening-eyed,
It alway shall abide!

"But best of all
That doth befall
Our country queenly-great,
Another still—
The great god's will—
Yet mine 'tis to relate,
Her royal-most estate!
The breed and break of horses, and the bridling of the sea,
Thou son of Time, Poseidon, we owe, O lord, to thee!
To thee the topping glory of paven ways we owe,
The tameless steed thou taughtest the tameful bit to know!
'Tis thou hast taught the conscious oar
To sip the leaping salt, and soar
On sweeping wing,
The half-a-hundred Nereids companioning!"*

A breeze of fragrant freshness o'er the soul
Pours from those liquid measures leapingly,
That sweeps it from the tiny orb within
To rounds of circling largeness! Come, O World!
O weary comrade, come away with me!
Night's wings are furl'd, the dew yet pearls the lea,

* The above passage in irregular verse is a translation from one of the choruses in Sophocles' play, "Oedipus at Kolonos."

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And noon's ahead! Hast thou not heard the voice
That nightingaled Kolonos? He, and he
Who made these groves new-sacred, chaunt as one!
E'en whilst they ope the rust-bound gates of self
And free the imprison'd wings to vastest air,
They call us back from emptiness, whose sense
The mind receives not, and us bid to stay
Yet in the thick of the far-surging strife—
Free, but in training and in fellowship!
Out of the vastness and the mystery,
Fresh with the glint of ever-dewy dawn,
Emerges at their voices' summons—lo!
A form more fair than Beauty's visual self—
The aëry *soul* of Beauty! Oh! 'Tis thou,
Pure secret of all loveliness, that still
Can reach the upsurging heart and yield it peace;
That still can call the sluggard to his day,
And with thy cup refreshing lift anew
The drooping spirit; still, as in the dawn
Of man, ere introspection had our bud
Blighted by tampering, make whole all wounds
And liven to full fruitage! Thine alone,
Belovéd! is it, on the hearth to light
'Perpetual benediction,' and to breathe
Into new nostrils, being! Only thou,
O blessed Lambence! knowest to illume
The vasty realms beyond man's precinct strait
Or the unsounded deep that yearns within;
For thou art one with everlasting Light!
And thou art one with everspringing Life!
The sun, that blights our vision with his blaze
And wields his wheeling phalanx thro' the blue,
Is but a mote that dances in the beam
Of thine effulgence! Thee we may not know,
Blind-smitten with thy shining; but thy gift—
The delicate vibrance of thy feebler ray
Attemper'd to the screen of our dim eyes—
The intimate expression of thy meaning
Coucht in a tongue akin to one we know—
That lessen'd brightness of thy beaming's boon
We take into our keep and hold on high
Its lantern-gleam to throw divulgent rays
Down the dim gateways of the human soul.

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This is the message of Kolonos hoar,
And this the Word of groves of Academe:
From the unknowable Beyond withdraw,
Withdraw thine eyes, for they be impotent
To fetch the compass of its nighest bourn;
But, free— yea! limitless, without— and free—
Ay, all thy gateways open wide within—
Search to its ends that only realm wherein
Thou canst read rightly of supremest things—
The heart of Man—thy kin! There, there alone,
Hast thou epitome of greatness which thine eye
Can look on undismay'd, and which thy mind
May work withal to elevate in little,
By increment of image and by rapt surmise,
A living vision of Eternity!
No narrow bounds, if bounds at all they be,
Are the far-fading gateways of the soul—
They open out to hope's all-spacious day
As to the bournless midnight of despair.
Of these the heart is mingled into gray.
Seek thou therein the gleaming thread of Life!

IV

O'er the fields of vast azure fresh-bloom'd and so lush
The west-wind hath wanton'd a suave-sweeping brush,
And the limpid pale petal-bell heavens of blue
Hath drencht as with even-dawn's silvery dew—
All its gaiety chasten'd, its song all ahush!

Before the low couch where the west lieth furl'd,
A violet arras, wide-sweeping, out-swirl'd,
Lures down to its bosom (O velvetest swoon)—
On snow-plumaged wings the marmoreal moon!
Asleep or aswoon is the shadow-swept world!

Now out of the dreamland of shadowy groves,
From the noon's stagnant crystal to eve's flowing mauves,
The Dreamer out-wanders far under the West
Where the winds for white pinions have arrast a nest—
With his dreams, out of dreamland, long-lingering roves!

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Afar 'neath the heavens' wan silverèd shroud,
Afar and agloom 'gainst the blossom-hued cloud,
The Profile uplifteth, of amethyst pale—
As, out of the silence emerging, might hail
A voice from the past that scarce speaketh aloud!

Now under the arras' old roseate blues
The edges that tangle with sea-silver fuse
In a honey-pale rillet from tenderness tame
To a molten out-flowing of passionate flame!
Lo! the West, new-awaken'd, her glamor renews!

And now—but behold!—o'er the tapestried nest
Slow lifteth the purple's imperial vest,
And forth from within—ah! what blinding delight!—
Slides, melts, flows, flames, flashes, upon the dazed sight,
A fount incandescent—the face of the West!

O terror of beauty! O blight of desire!
O pang of the touch of the quickening fire!
No more, ah! no more, can the eyesight withstand
The awe of that Majesty's far-darting brand!
To the shadow, thou mortal! for life, O retire!

And lo! o'er the void of the answering east
A flood, overpouring like wine from the feast
Of Olympian revelling, chalices down
Till all wastes of the world are in grape deep a-drown,
Till all day-deeps are drencht as in life-blood out-prest!

Yet not all! for within the vast vintage a flower
Of gold and fire-purple uplifts like a tower!
Great God! is the form of that Profile eternal
A fragment of palaces builded supernal—
The symbol forever of Thee and Thy power? . . . .

Pure gold now that chryselephantine delight,—
Pure gold e'en its ivory, gleamingly bright—
And its gold super-burnisht to flamingest sheen,
A temple-topt crownet of open-wrought screen—
Flame-crimson its heart-hidden secrets from light!

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And lo! over all—O incredible thing!—
Broad arches of Iris o'ercircle and swing,
In flaming tiara of jewels prismatic
O'erleaping the brow of that Profile ecstatic
And rounding all heaven on buoyant wing!

Here bloometh eternally Youth tho' so hoary!
Here ringeth the voice of Man's pregnantest story!
Here waiteth unweariedly slow-stealing Time,
Here looketh unblenching upon the sublime,
Here riseth and shineth, earth's sublimate glory!

O marvel of marvels of profiling height!
O sweetness! O music! O fragrance! O light!
Whence—whence hath thy penetrant loveliness flow'd,
Save out of the mingling, to nethermost node,
The mystical mingling of Beauty and Might?

O fruit of blest union! O childing divine!
Thou hast drain'd the full cup of Life's sacrament-wine—
O'er thy lips there hath bubbled the life of the god!
Thy soul hath been chrisom'd and soareth wing-shod,
Thy brows with the heavens' own radiance shine!

O blessed, that Might tooketh Beauty to wife!
O blessed! for thence hath come peace out of strife!
O blessed, that Youth did impregnate of old,
Out of ravages' power, this treasure of gold,
With the spirit immortal of Love and of Life!

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PROFESSOR HOCKING'S *THE MEANING OF GOD IN HUMAN EXPERIENCE**

CHARLES H. RIEBER

I am glad that the CHRONICLE is willing to forego its usual practice not to print book reviews and to allow me to call the attention of its philosophically-minded readers to an unusual volume, the *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, by Professor Hocking, formerly a member of the Department of Philosophy in the University of California, now at Yale. It is impossible in the brief space that I may here take to tell of the many excellencies of this work of nearly six hundred pages. The title is somewhat misleading. It suggests that the book is a contribution to the philosophy of religion merely on its practical side. It is true that from the first to the last page the author leaves no room for doubt in the reader's mind of his own very earnest, and I may even say devout purpose to serve the cause of practical religion. But while there is this aim to vindicate the special rites of religion; as for instance in the chapters on the "Worth of Worship" and "Prayer and Its Answer," yet theory is never made subordinate to practice in any of the final discussions in the book. Even the layman in philosophy will read those chapters which deal directly with the world-old problems of "epistomology" and "ontology" with pleasure and profit. Students of philosophy, I am sure, will

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take the deepest interest in those technical chapters which Professor Hocking has very considerately designated, so that—as he suggests—they may be omitted by those readers who do not wish to undertake the serious business of speculative thought.

The author finds the warrant for the study that he has undertaken in this book in the general dissatisfaction with idealism as a positive groundwork for religion. He says, "The one impression which does distinctly emerge from the multitude of contemporary suggestions is a negative one: a general disaffection from the religion of reason and from its philosophical framework absolute idealism." This is not the place to raise the question as to how far Professor Hocking is justified in this assertion. But one may differ from the author in his fundamental contentions and still greatly admire the original and subtle fashion in which he has undertaken to triangulate the territory of Beyond-Reason or the Deeper-Than-Reason of which he says, "Once singly-named Faith, now it has many names—instinct, the subconscious, the co-conscious, feeling, will, value-judgment, social sense, intuition, mystic reason, perhaps *l'elan vital.*"

The author believes that idealism has failed to work hitherto because it is unfinished, although he admits that unfinishedness is in itself not a blemish. Professor Hocking insists that there are tolerable and intolerable kinds of unfinishedness. A thing is properly unfinished when it is finishable, when it has an identity that finishing will not change. The thing has character and significance only when all later finishing does but develop without displacement or substitution. Now the author urges this as the fundamental criterion that every philosophy must meet. He insists that idealism can entertain much of what pragmatism, realism, and the rest have brought forward, and still remain idealism; whether it can entertain all, is doubtful. Professor Hocking believes that it is possible for idealism to incorporate into the essential doctrine variety, change, growth, personality, freedom, but the question is, of what sort?—

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whether the variety is a real variety, the risk a real risk. The author rightly suggests that one of the crucial problems that have emerged from contemporary philosophical discussion is the question as to whether idealism can entertain the real, and still remain idealism.

Of the prevalent modern doctrine of pragmatism Professor Hocking says: "What pragmatism has specifically required of idealism in religion is more genuinely real opportunity, real freedom, real individual creativity. What realism desires is more valid objectivity, substantiality in the world beyond self. It is the latter want, I venture to say, which chiefly limits the effectiveness of idealism in religion; to satisfy the pragmatic test, idealism must become more realistic: for idealism in religion does not give sufficient credence to the authoritative Object, shows, so far, no adequate comprehension of the attitude of *Worship.*"

But I should add at once that Professor Hocking does not accept pragmatism as the final and adequate philosophy, as the passage just quoted and others of like content suggest when read out of contest. Elsewhere the author says of pragmatism: "As a positive builder it has little to recommend it. Founding truth ultimately on our human value it is but another attempt, more radical than that of idealism, at the 'pure adventure'; it is an idealism become more subjective, freedom less bound by authority. It is the function of the pragmatic test (as of pain and discomfort generally) to point out something wrong; the work of discovering what is right must be done by other means."

Now it is just this positive criterion of Reality that is the central object of every philosophic inquiry. And in full view of all that the author has so eloquently and so logically said in this volume, I still believe that the work of "discovering what is right" (and true and beautiful) must be done along the lines of traditional idealism.

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RECORD OF THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND OF THE INSTALLATION OF DEAN THOMAS FORSYTH HUNT, NOVEMBER 20, 1912

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

Of all departments of the University the well-being of the State is most closely interlocked with the College of Agriculture. It is therefore both for University and State a significant occasion when on this one day we dedicate a new building for agriculture, induct into office a new Director, and inaugurate a new and far-reaching policy for the organization and equipment of agricultural education.

Our problem in California is among all the states as uniquely complicated as it is uniquely vast. The variety of our products of the soil far exceeds that of any other state. The tilling of our soil requires for efficiency more use of special knowledge and of the results of scientific investigation than the agricultural practice of any other state. Whether it be for the production of wealth or for the establishment of homes and the morals of the family, the prosperity and soundness of the state is chiefly dependent on the farms and the farmers. If you want population, commerce, and bank deposits for your cities, seek

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thrifty farmers, and sound procedure for your farms, and all these other things "shall be added unto you."

The Regents, in fashioning a policy which should assume to be in some wise commensurate with the need of the state, have determined first of all to seek an equipment in men. In making selection they have looked the country over; their question has been,—not whom they could get, but whom did they want. Five such men they have already appointed to full professorships, and these with others to follow will begin work with us either at New Year's or the coming summer. We have reckoned hereby on Californians as likely to recognize that the best is precisely what they want.

The second feature of our policy involves the clear differentiation of the various forms of our work and the development of each into its proper place. Berkeley, Davis, Riverside, Whittier, Meloland, have each their place and work. They are not rivals, but each the center for a certain sort of work. Each has its own fitness. Fresno will shortly be added to the list. The distribution of the work among these centers will be discussed this evening by Director Hunt in his inaugural address.

But more important than the various places are the various activities, e.g., research and the solving of problems, training in the science of agriculture, training in the arts of agriculture, provision of short courses, spreading of information through publications, farmers' institutes and the train and through correspondence, training of teachers and provision of methods for agricultural education in the schools.

Experience with the school at Davis proves that the provision of education for young farmers who have passed the age when they could be expected to go through the schedules of a preparatory and a college course is a real need. This was really what the farmers wanted when agricultural education was first attempted, only we did not fully understand them. It is fortunate we can develop

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this form of instruction at a distance from the university. Equally important is it that the stricter training in the science of agriculture which is to provide the teachers and discoverers should be conducted at least in the earlier years at the university.

What we saw once as in a glass darkly, we are coming now to see clearly. We have with all this variety of equipment and location the opportunity to develop in California the completest and richest system of agricultural education and research that the world has yet seen. We have made our beginning. We have the place for it and the sky for it and the heart for it. We will prove it to the people of California well worth while and they will support us.

ADDRESS OF PETER J. SHIELDS

It would be impossible, in the few moments which the circumstances permit, for me to fittingly express the significance of this hour. It is the culmination of long years of waiting, of the slow growth of a Western civilization; the fruit of fine hopes and patient, unselfish efforts. It is the beginning of a larger effort to teach men the sound principles which have stood the test of experience and which in all ages have given security and happiness to the peoples that have practiced them. I should like to felicitate with you over what has been done, but we must press on for what remains for us to do. I should like to speak a few words in praise of those who have helped in this work, but they do not need it. It is enough that their wish has been realized; that the truth for which they labored, today receives this high sanction. I should like to speak of agriculture as one of the noblest of all occupations, but it is in submission to that truth that we are here and it does not need expression.

We have contended warmly over what was education, as to what were its aids and its agencies. Some of us have doubted whether men might be educated through things,

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through a knowledge of nature, and the practice of her laws. It would be interesting today to take up that discussion, but it would be fruitless. That cause has been tried, and today in monumental form, we record the verdict.

It will be enough to point to the most tangible lesson of history that agricultural industry has been the surest foundation for a state and the extent to which it was fostered has been the measure of a people's progress.

Mysterious Egypt, of which we know only that it was great, at the height of its development made slaves of its farmers. Magnificent India founded its future upon agriculturalists whom she condemned to a degraded caste. Rome plundered and oppressed her farmers to a condition of poverty and discredit. They are all gone, and volumes have been written in an effort to trace the cause. It could be written in a sentence. They built their societies from the top, and devoted their efforts to the worship of false social quantities. That we should honor agriculture is the lesson of their dread experience. But we cannot do this as a duty; it must spring from an honest estimate. This building stands for this appreciation and respect. It will help us to honor agriculture, through making it honorable. It will unfold its mysteries, it will exhibit its beauties, it will develope its strength till an admiring and respectful nation will proclaim its primacy.

This country was founded upon the principle that labor is honorable, and we made agriculture our chief pursuit. We have grown in devotion to that truth. We have got our vigor from the soil. Most of our ablest men have been country-bred. Our distinctive institutions were nourished there. Its ideals have colored and formed our policies. In recent years this dominance has been threatened, and our problems have multiplied. This way lies their correction.

I will not attempt any elaboration of this structure's significance. It stands as a monument to the new agriculture, the agriculture of thought and knowledge which has come to redeem the industry and to secure for it its propor-

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tionate place in our civilization. It means the beauty and the strength of the out-of-doors. It means the peace and solitude where men think profoundly and adhere tenaciously, where strong characters are formed and high purposes are nourished. It means food and raiment and shelter; the primal things that go to the roots of life, and supply the basis of all of our institutions. It stands for toil and proclaims the honest eminence of useful labor. It stands for simplicity as the eternal measure of permanence. It calls men out from the crowded places to where the horizon is wide, where the majesty of nature prompts man to its imitation.

We are multiplying very rapidly the complications of our civilization and we ask ourselves to what limits we may safely go in the direction we call progress. The answer is here, that we cannot get far away from the standards this structure proclaims, from the country-bred man, the man who is constantly measuring his work with the work of nature and thus keeping it true. Life may become very fine and high, but it must remain natural to keep its strength. We should look to this hall as a beacon, lighting the way in which we may go in safety. It will stand a perpetual reproach to frivolity, artificiality, and idleness; it will supply an antidote for the dependence of the submerged, and for the arrogance of the over-fortunate. It proclaims the farmer the type man of America; it admonishes us to train him—but keep him a farmer.

Agriculture is not only an industry, it is a life. This building stands for the preservation of that life, for its elevation and such a distribution of its ideals as will flavor the whole life of our country.

This is indeed a great day for California. We are taking stock of our condition. When we find a people engaged as we are today, met in the spirit in which we are met, we know that they are going forward on the broad highway of life, that their estimate of social values is true, and that they have avoided the temptations to which other nations have succumbed.

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Different states or societies at different times have built monuments to the principles they worshipped; to express their faiths or to point their hopes. A mystic race built the Pyramids. Today these stand, lonesome sentinels in the desert, typifying nothing save that races not soundly founded will perish. Tamerlane built a structure of skulls in testimony of his faith in war and its all-conquering power. It crumbled scarcely as fast as his leadership, his empire, his people, and his race; as the false principles upon which he had based the success of his efforts. The Pagan races erected temples to earth-made gods, but these people banished, their gods are forgotten, their temples have disappeared, or their fragments remain in proof that what is not true cannot be perpetuated. The triumphal arches of the Romans serve only to remind us that the judgment which called them such was mistaken, and that a race devoted to conquest and oppression will disappear. The monuments upon the torture fields of Smithfield and Salem are the tombstones of dead institutions.

The monument we have built here was built in another spirit. It was built in submission to an all-prevading law. built in harmony with nature. It was built to serve human need and not the greed or vanity of privilege. It was built in devotion to knowledge and industry, the everlasting things. It will survive, in the things it stands for, while the world lasts. Tens of millions of people will come to this fair land, to live here a more involved and elaborated life than the world has elsewhere known. If they keep their eyes upon this temple and walk in its shadow, if they practice the truths for which it stands, their society will live as long.

Today we reaffirm that faith. Let us rededicate ourselves to the efforts which have brought about this hour. Let us build this structure higher and broader until its spirit is in every heart and until every hearthstone in our country becomes part of its foundation.

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ADDRESS OF E. P. CLARKE

In one of his letters to Timothy the Apostle Paul speaks of a class of men who are "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth"; and that very accurately describes the condition of the growers of oranges and lemons in California. For nearly fifty years they have been studying and experimenting but they cannot claim today to have reached a position where they feel sure even of the fundamentals of an industry which has become one of the greatest in the state. California produces annually over 40,000 cars of oranges and lemons, bringing nearly $20,000,000 every season to the growers. These figures would seem to spell success and in a limited sense they do; but the growers do not know but that they ought to be producing 50,000 or 60,000 cars as easily as 40,000; and they are quite sure that on much of their acreage they ought to be producing better fruit. On questions of methods, on the problems of planting, irrigation, fertilization, pruning, frost protection, and other essentials in the business, they are still in the primer and I might almost say in the kindergarten class.

There came recently to Riverside, one of the great centers of the orange industry, a wise man from England—and sometimes when they are wise there they are very sure about it. This particular wise man was one of that type; and after a few days' stay "in our midst," as the country editor would say, he proceeded to tell us that everything we did about the orange and lemon business was all wrong. He told us that we did not know how to plant our orchards properly in the first place and then that our methods of applying the water, cultivating the soil, fertilizing, etc., were improper and the wonder was that we raise any oranges at all. I am not quite sure but that he holds that the sun rises and sets in the wrong place in Riverside; certain it is that he found pretty much everything else

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wrong there and in every other orange growing community that he condescended to inspect.

Some few laughed him to scorn and would not admit that the methods tested by years of experiment should be set aside on the *ex-cathedra* advice of one who might be an authority and who might also be an impractical theorist. In general, however, his revolutionary statements were received by the growers with chastened attention, if not with humiliation and repentance, and many said, "Well, he may be right, we are not sure," and they are preparing to adopt the recommendations of this wise man from England and make a complete change in their cultural methods. They are ready to do this because they are not confident of the correctness of their present methods and not satisfied with the results they are attaining.

Nearly two years ago the paper with which I am connected startled some of the orange growers of Riverside, and offended others, by announcing in a leading editorial that the orange groves of this, the oldest and largest citrus growing district in the state, were not producing nearly as much fruit as they ought to or as the groves in certain other sections, where the conditions were practically the same as in Riverside, were producing. We followed up this editorial with a series of articles that were intended to prove the correctness of the premises laid down and to arouse interest in improved methods. We made out a very good case, at least we thought so, and some growers were even grateful for the criticism and said so (an experience that is exceedingly rare in newspaper offices). We invited suggestions as to remedies and received scores of letters many of which read like the directions for the use of patent medicines and advanced claims for results that were as sweeping as those guaranteed in the advertisements of these same remedies. Some of these suggestions were well considered and helpful, others were fantastical and absurd; but even the most absurd received a measure of consideration because the average grower does not feel sure that his methods are the

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correct ones and he is ready to try almost any nostrum, if it is recommended to him in sufficiently alluring terms. Here is a community of the most experienced and most successful orange growers in the state and one would naturally suppose that they would, after these many years of experience, have reached substantial agreement as to how to grow oranges; but we find them proposing, from their several individual experiences, a score of different methods diametrically opposed to one another. Some of these may be right but most of them are probably radically wrong.

Within the last twenty-five years I have seen groves budded from oranges to lemons, from lemons to grape fruit, from grape fruit back to oranges, from navels to Valencias and from Valencias back to navels again. The economic waste in this series of changes is enormous and it can be accounted for only on the ground of indecision and fluctuation of opinion as to what is the wise and profitable thing to do. The same fluctuation of opinion in most lines of business would be more likely to be followed by bankruptcy than success.

Why do I on this occasion make this confession of admitted ignorance and partial failure in behalf of the orange growers of Southern California? In order that I may emphasize the pressing need and the wonderful opportunity of the department of agriculture of the University of California. We are assembled today to give recognition to its expansion and to rejoice in the completion of the noble building by which its usefulness will be enhanced; but we must not lose sight of the fact that the fields are still white for the harvest and that from all over the state there is coming up to this department of our great university a demand for scientific investigation, experiment, and instruction which is not only important but essential to the future prosperity and development of the state. I have spoken of conditions in the citrus industry because I am familiar with them, but the same need for help exists in other branches of fruit growing and farming; and in some

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instances it is more imperative than it is in the case of the grower of oranges and lemons.

It is doubtful if there can be found anywhere in the world a more intelligent and enterprising class of men engaged in any form of agriculture than those who are in the business of fruit growing in California. Many of them were men of large affairs in the East and they have sought to apply to the fruit industry in this state the energy, intelligence, and enterprise that gave them conspicuous success in other lines of business. They are moreover responsive in an unusual degree to suggestion and instruction when it comes from a source that has some claims to authority; but they are agreed that the problems which confront them are too great to be solved by individual or even community effort. Even the owner of a large ranch cannot maintain a laboratory on his grounds and he cannot afford to convert a considerable part of his property into an experiment station where various theories and suggestions may be worked out to some ultimate conclusion; and if that is true of the large grower, the helplessness of the owner of a small ranch is the more apparent.

The citrus fruit growers of California must spend not less than $6,000,000 a year on fertilizers; but they are not at all sure that this money is spent wisely. They experiment with different things from year to year, and it is not easy to find any two who pursue exactly the same method or who are agreed as to what is the best system.

Take the matter of frost protection as another illustration. Last winter was the most severe the citrus belt in California and Arizona has experienced for twenty years; fully 10,000 carloads of oranges and lemons were destroyed by cold or damaged so that they were marketed with loss instead of profit. The loss was at least $5,000,000 to the growers; and to a considerable extent that loss was undoubtedly preventable. But here again there is need of careful, thorough, scientific study of the problem such as the university can give. Much has been done already in

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the investigation of this subject and the university authorities have done their part; but we are still very much at sea as to what to do and how to do it. Conclusions will not be reached in a day as the result of any investigation; but if the experiments are conducted with such care and thoroughness as a corps of trained men can give to them the conclusions, when reached, will make possible immunity from any such general and disastrous loss as came to the orange and lemon growers last December.

If the picture I have drawn regarding conditions in the orange industry seems rather a dark one, there is a bright side which ought to be given equal prominence. Some of the most important benefits and improvements that have come to the industry in recent years have been the direct result of scientific research by representatives of the state university and the federal department of agriculture. While we expect much greater things of the university in the future, we have not forgotten the good work done, with limited facilities, under the direction of Professor Hilgard and Professor Wickson. The orange growers remember their deliverance from the cottony cushion scale by the vedalia cardinalis and the prompt and effective work done to stamp out the dreaded white fly, just as the lemon men deeply appreciate the important work accomplished in the investigation of the brown rot, and as other industries appreciate the work in their behalf on the walnut blight, the pear blight, the tomato rust and other troubles with which the farmers of the state have had to contend. The improvements in methods of handling oranges suggested by Mr. G. Harold Powell have been generally adopted and without doubt have saved the growers upwards of $1,000,000 a year. Mr. A. D. Shamel, another expert from Washington, is now studying the problem of barren and productive strains of oranges and has already demonstrated the fact that quite a large percentage of the trees in our orange groves were budded from unproductive stock, thus greatly diminishing the yield which should be received.

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Extensive rebudding will follow his investigations and all future budding will be done from trees known not only to be vigorous in growth but known also to be producing regularly a heavy crop of fruit of good quality.

Some of the things taught the orange growers by Mr. Powell and Mr. Shamel have been so simple and ele-elementary that they wonder why they never discovered them for themselves; but that work requires men trained in scientific research. What has been done simply suggests the almost boundless field for future endeavor, provided men and means are supplied to do the work.

Very largely I have been considering field work in my references to results accomplished; but without buildings and equipment such as we rejoice in today, the preparation for and direction of the field work is impracticable and the co-related laboratory investigation is impossible. The first need is men but we need facilities to train them and equipment to make their work effective. The present day "back to the farm" movement, of which we hear so much, is emphasized by the multiplication of agricultural high schools and the inauguration of new colonization schemes. Unless, however, these schools are supplied with competent teachers they will largely fail of their purpose; and unless both promoters and colonists in land enterprises are properly instructed and directed, disappointment and disaster will attend many endeavors that are honest and well intended. Just here we need the university to step in and furnish the instruction and expert knowledge that are essential either for successful teaching or successful farming.

In California it is no great miracle to make two blades of grass grow where none grew before; the application of water to our soil will do that; but to make two bushels of wheat grow where one grows now, to make the vineyards produce two tons of grapes where one is produced now, and to make possible the harvesting of two boxes of oranges where one is harvested now—these problems are not so

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simple and easy of solution. To master them, the farmers of the state need the very best help the university can give them.

Perhaps some will expect too much from the enlarged scope of the activities of the agricultural department of the university; certain it is that no work it may ever do can guarantee every farmer in the state a big crop every year and an automobile to go to town in. To those, however, who will reach out to take hold of the guiding hand which the university will extend, it will be possible to walk in the broad highway of success. I believe that President Wheeler and the Regents of the University have a vision of the future relations of the University to the farmers and fruit growers of California that will be made possible by the work of men like Dr. Hunt, Dr. Webber, and Professor Stubenrauch—a vision which will be realized in a vast increase in the cultivated area of the state and an increase in crops commensurate with the fertility of our soil and the perpetual stimulus of our golden sunshine.

California is expecting to reap great benefits from the opening of the Panama Canal but the completion of that great undertaking is going to bring us problems as well as blessings. The rich tourist can come to California now but the present immigrant from Europe stops on the other side of the country. The railroad fare from New York to San Francisco acts as a high tariff that operates to shut this class of immigration out of California. With the opening of the canal, however, the immigrant from Europe can come in through the Golden Gate and be landed in San Francisco at practically the same steamship fare he now pays to reach New York. And they will come here—not the fair-haired, blue-eyed Saxon from the north but much less desirable classes, the timid and thrifty Jew from Russia, the stolid Slav from Central Europe, and the hot-blooded Latin from the Mediterranean. Are we ready for them? Not yet. If they congregate in the cities, they will prove a curse rather than a blessing to the state. The only

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hope we have of assimilating them is to get them out on the farms.

California is not a manufacturing state, we cannot restore the gold to the gravels along our streams that once offered wealth to the prospector, and it will take centuries to re-forest our mountains with the timber that was once another source of wealth and means of employment. But the latent fertility of our soil abides and with proper management will never fail us. Generations may come and go but harvest will continue to follow seed time. We must prepare the land for these people who are coming and when they come prepare them for the land; and that great work must largely be done by the agricultural department of the state university. By conserving and developing our water supply and by applying more scientific methods to our farming, we can make room for many thousands more in the undeveloped north, in the fertile valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin—an empire in themselves—and on great stretches of land redeemed from desert in the south. The invading hordes will not be a menace to our state if we can make farmers of them and place them in the environment of country life. On the contrary, they will become loyal and true Americans who will bow with us in reverence for the lustre of the stripes and the glory of the stars of the flag we love and honor.

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RESPONSE OF THOMAS FORSYTH HUNT, DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND DIRECTOR OF THE AGRICULTURE EXPERIMENT STATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, UPON FORMAL INDUCTION INTO OFFICE

In accepting the responsibility of Dean of the College of Agriculture and Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, it must be recognized that I represent only one of the agencies by which the University of California seeks to develop the commonwealth. The office into which I have just been formally inducted typifies the University's relation to the public welfare. The organization thus represented looks back over a generation of steady and successful development under the guidance of but two directors, both of whom have the unique distinction of remaining as honored members of the faculty. The institution will honor itself during this day's exercises by remembering them with loving kindness.

With every generation of men new problems arise. Through the operation of this law, the College of Agriculture finds itself in just that attitude. Some of these problems are the most important as well as the most fundamental with which the Anglo-Saxon race has grappled during the past forty centuries. The faculty of the College of Agriculture suffers no illusions concerning its own limitations and makes no promises beyond pledging its best endeavors.

Upon behalf of himself and his associates the Dean and Director appeals to all agencies, public and private, for assistance and guidance. He asks the sympathy and patience of the governor of the state, the president of the University, the Board of Regents, faculty and citizens of California, while the following sane, safe, and sensible

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policies of his predecessors, he unobstrusively and without undue publicity endeavors to organize the best and most efficient faculty of agriculture that has ever been known.

THE EVOLUTION OF AN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE BY EUGENE W. HILGARD*

In celebrating today the completion of this building devoted to the higher phases of agricultural education, we hark back to the time when, just fifty years ago, the first national recognition of the importance and rights of vocational education was placed upon the status of the United States by Senator Justin Morrill, of Vermont. At the very height of the Civil War, there was thus manifested the confidence in the future of the nation by the enactment of this important measure for the promotion of the fundamental industry of peace. I propose to recall very briefly the subsequent development of the educational and experimental work thus initiated, and which through many vicissitudes has now become an almost overshadowing movement, among the results of which is the splendid building before which we stand.

The critical clause of the "First Morrill Act" provided that "there shall be established in each state at least one college, the leading object of which shall be, without excluding classical and other literary studies, and including military tactics, to teach the sciences bearing on agriculture and mechanic arts, for the education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." The interpretation of this clause has been the subject of much controversy ever since the end of the Civil War; and the echoes of that controversy are still at times with us. On the one hand, it was contended that the act was intended for the vocational education of "every farmer's son in the land," and that the funds derived from the sale of the lands

* Read at the Dedication Exercises by Professor R. H. Loughridge.

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allotted for that purpose should be used in the establishment of numerous schools of agriculture scattered in the rural districts; or in order not to scatter the funds too much, that one or several such schools should be established at easily accessible points. On the other hand, it was contended that in view of the utter inadequacy of the funds if thus applied, and in view also of the use of the words "college" and "sciences," the intention was that one or more institutions of college grade, for the training of agricultural experts and teachers, would be the most feasible way to fulfill the intent of the Morrill Act, so that farm schools, or instruction in agriculture in the rural common and high schools, could be gradually brought about.

Some states, e.g., Pennsylvania, Iowa, and Kansas, at once adopted the first or "popular" plan, and took pains to establish the agricultural college far away from the supposed pernicious influence of the state universities, where, as it was urged, boys would be "educated away from the farm," and be looked down upon by the students in the literary and scientific courses.

Having in 1868 been charged by the Regents of the University of Mississippi with the organization of the state agricultural college in connection with the university, and finding irreconcilable differences of opinion among the colleges already established, I wrote to Senator Morrill himself for an authoritative statement of his views and intentions in framing the bill bearing his name. He replied that while his object, as stated in the bill, was to have the industrial masses better educated in their pursuits, he had purposely left the several states to determine, by trial or otherwise, how this object could best be accomplished; but that in the absence of any adequate number of competent teachers for agricultural schools, he thought the establishment of at least one high-class college in each state to be necessary. The states themselves should do the rest. I should add that in Mississippi I was compelled by popular clamor to establish first of all a farm school, with a noted practical agri-

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culturist as chief instructor. His name at first attracted quite a class of students. But when these found that, as they thought, they were simply made to work as they had been doing at home, with only a little education thrown in, they became dissatisfied and left, saying they would rather work for their parents than for the college. The experience thus gained was very useful to me afterwards.

In this state, as is well known, the University was formed by the conjoining of the College of California and the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; the latter is therefore one of the fundamental units of the institution; and of the two buildings first constructed, the present "South Hall" was originally designated as the College of Agriculture, and still bears on its gable ends sheaves of cereals and fruit. But when I came to Berkeley as professor of agriculture, I found that building occupied in the main by other scientific departments, and by the library, there being no other accommodations for these, while to agriculture was assigned one-half of the basement. This assignment formed the main basis for the complaints of my predecessor, that agriculture was deprived of its proper share in the University funds and accommodations that it was given the cold shoulder by the Regents, and should be removed from their control to a location in the rural districts. This he proclaimed to the then very influential farmers' organization, the Patrons of Husbandry, now better known as the Grangers, and with their aid and support he introduced into the legislature a bill to segregate the College of Agriculture from the University of California. He then resigned from the University; and after much hesitation I left the University of Michigan to take his place.

Thus, when I arrived in California in 1875, I found a rather unhappy situation. The most influential portion of the farming population was solidly arrayed against the University, determined to detach the College of Agriculture from it, and in the meantime enforcing a boycott against

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the attendance of farmers' boys as students. They clamored for the reinstatement of my predecessor, and for the separation of the College of Agriculture, which they claimed was discriminated against by Regents, Faculty and students, who looked down upon agriculture as an inferior pursuit, and that their boys would there be "educated away from the farm." At every legislative session, for a number of years, the agitation for separation was resumed, and in the intervals it was advocated in the newspapers. For a time the situation looked most discouraging, the more as I was the sole representative of the college, and a stranger to the people of the state.

During the first two years no students applied for the course in agriculture proper; but I gave lectures on botany and mineralogy, which were lacking at the time. I also delivered lectures on various technical subjects in San Francisco and Oakland, and tried to start Farmers' Institute meetings at outside points; but these were at first very thinly attended. I also announced that I would investigate any questions or problems submitted to me by farmers; and it may be interesting to recall the fact that thus, in June, 1875, the first Experiment Station in the United States was definitely established in California, the experimental orchard having already been planted in 1873.

Gradually these activities told upon the attitude of the farmers, and I was at last invited to address some public meetings of granges, where I had the opportunity to explain my views and intentions. I laid special stress upon the fact that they themselves were depreciating the dignity of their calling by trying to keep their sons out of contact with the rest of the educated professional men of the state; that there existed at the University no such snobbishness as they imagined would "wean their boys from the farm," and that they should assert, and not depreciate themselves. I asked why they themselves sent so few farmers to the legislature instead of lawyers and doctors. The hesitating answer was that when they did send farmers to Sacramento

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they were "bamboozled" by the lawyers and doctors and made to vote their way. "Then," said I, "what you really need is better educated farmers, and more of them, trained alongside of the other professional men and able to hold their own with them; so send your sons to the Agricultural College and the University, instead of trying to put them in the country by themselves. We need to introduce education in agriculture into the public schools and secondary schools, all over the state, and for that purpose we must have teachers, and these teachers must be trained at the University. So long as your boys know nothing but the daily grind you give them on the farm, and the 'three R's' as taught in the country school, they will surely be drawn from the farm, and the best of them will drift to the cities, as you complain they do."

While this point of view was not always taken kindly, it impressed a good many, and gradually students in agriculture came in from the country. Among the first to do so were sons of viticulturists from Napa and Sonoma valleys, from where also came the first movement for an appropriation for a viticultural building and necessary cellar for experimental work. The outcome of these first efforts might have been seen in the little frame building, 40x18 feet, that spanned the creek until recently, just below this present building; and I regret that it was not allowed to stand until today, by way of affording a comparison of those times with the present, as evidence of the progress made since then.

Yet, while the agitation for the separation of the College of Agriculture from the University became less active, so that we can now claim the Grangers as our very best friends, there remained enough to defeat, at successive sessions of the legislature, our efforts to secure an appropriation for an adequate building or buildings for the College of Agriculture at Berkeley. The secessionists "held up" all such efforts in committees, or by means of amendments or riders at the last moments, although liberal appro-

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priations for other purposes were favored by them. Here again it was the influence of the viticultural interest that first pushed through the legislature an outright appropriation for a building; but it was rendered so inadequate by a little clause slipped in that it sufficed for only half a building. But we built this on a large foundation and when it was halfway up the first floor was roofed over with a temporary roof of felt, leaving the second floor an "aching void." At the next session of the legislature a committee of university inspection was sent from Sacramento. They commented with some amusement on the "rump" building representing the College of Agriculture, and promptly reported on their return a bill appropriating funds enough to complete the building and equip it modestly.

That building, grown up by instalments, housed the College of Agriculture up to March, 1897, when it burned down to the first floor, with heavy loss in collections and equipment. In rebuilding it was lengthened by fifty feet, thus adding the present large lecture room and the much-needed rooms above it. How even with this enlargement the building soon became totally inadequate for the accommodation of the rapidly increasing demands and activities, and how the working staff was forced to expand into several neighboring buildings, including a horse stable, is known to all here present. The second Morrill Act, the Hatch Act, and the Adams Act, the last two specially providing for experimental work, supplied the means for work but not for buildings, and so served to increase the over-crowding. Legislative provision for a permanent building was still unobtainable owing to the opposition already referred to; but the Regents, appreciating the importance of a creditable permanent agricultural building on the University grounds, appropriated the means for the present building out of the general University income. This accomplished fact before us, I hail as the final happy termination of the forty years' contention for the principle of having the university

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educate, in the man, the leaders, experts, and teachers who are to carry the principles and practice of rational agriculture to the farmers at large, and to the public schools. That this must ultimately be done through the agency of the secondary schools, gradually working down into the graded schools, is an obvious proposition which is happily emphasized by the late introduction into congress of the "Lever Bill," providing for extension teaching in agriculture, and by the broader bill of Mr. Page, again of Vermont, providing both for extension teaching and for that in high and lower schools; thus going to the very root of the matter of the agricultural education of the masses of the farmers' boys and girls, only a few of whom can go to an agricultural college.

I hail with intense satisfaction this consummation devoutely to be wished, of which the establishment of the Farm School at Davis is the beginning, which I trust will be greatly extended and multiplied by the new Dean and Director whom we welcome today. Whether separate agricultural schools, or adjuncts to high schools be preferable, the movement for popular agricultural education has now gathered such force that, like other revolutions, it cannot go backward, but will gain additional momentum from year to year.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE KEY BY G. W. FOSTER

Mr. President and Friends of the University, I have been requested, on behalf of the Regents, to present to you, Mr. President, the key of Agriculture Hall, the dedication of which we are this day celebrating. In doing so, I feel embarrassed at the task of even attempting to express the feelings which I personally hold in seeing such an artistic and practicable building, adequate for the purpose, dedicated to agriculture.

Since my earliest connection with the University I have recognized the importance to this state of this great branch

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of learning. I have often noted the indifference towards it from quarters where encouragement should have come, but now I am pleased, not only to express my gratification but also of those who have consistently worked and waited to see the Department of Agriculture take the leading place it deserves in the energies of the University.

With the aid of Dean Hunt and such a competent corps of professors which he has had the good fortune to secure, with the aid and encouragement of the state, which is so essential to our development and success, with an appreciative and united people to encourage our efforts to make the agricultural department of the University of California second to none in our great country, the Regents cannot but feel that the outlook for great results to the state at large is most promising.

REMARKS BY RAY R. INGELS AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE HILGARD BUST

A little over a year ago, at a meeting of the Agricultural Club, a question was brought forward as to the best way we could honor our famous old scientist, Dr. Hilgard. After some discussion we finally decided that nothing would be more appropriate than a bust of Dr. Hilgard placed in the new building to be.

We had the hearty support of the Faculty, not alone of the Agricultural College but of all the colleges in the University. We also had the support of the college alumni and of Dr. Hilgard's many friends throughout the state. Dr. Hilgard himself consented to sit for the artist, and Mr. Ralph Stackpole, a young sculptor living in San Francisco, was procured to do the work.

Perhaps it would be well to state here our reasons for trying to bestow honor upon Dr. Hilgard. We are trying to honor a man whom as a man we all respect, admire, and love as we do a member of our own families. We are try-

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ing to honor a college professor, the former dean of our college, for the great scientific work which he has accomplished under great difficulties. Finally we are trying to honor a man who has brought honor to the name of University of California. His great work has not alone brought honor to himself but has also reflected glory on his University. That is the chief reason that we are giving this bust.

And now, in the name of the students, the alumni, and Faculty of the University, and of Dr. Hilgard's many friends, I take great pleasure in presenting to the University the bust of Dr. E. W. Hilgard.

REMARKS BY E. J. WICKSON AT THE UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF E. W. HILGARD

I am a little disconcerted by the task allotted to me. In searching the records of public unveilings from Phidias to the Panama-Pacific Exposition, I do not find any satisfying suggestion of what it is safe to say when called upon to unveil a bust in the presence of the person who is honored. Manifestly, I cannot tell the bust what I think of the original without danger of reprisals by the latter; nor dare I tell the original what I think of the bust—for fear of the sculptor. The only safe way for me to proceed, I think, will be to undertake a brief discourse on "The relation of some fundamentals of art to the development of the Agricultural Department of the University of California. In this way I may impress upon you the essential features of the present situation and give us all a chance to escape with our lives.

The particular thing which this department lacks worse and needs most is perspective; and that, I take it, is a fundamental of art. Since the University of California began its agricultural career in 1869, four men have been elected to leadership in agriculture—and three of them are here

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today. Since the University established its experiment station in 1875, the oldest, by the way, in the United States, three men have been elected directors thereof—and they all stand before you this morning. Our picture has no perspective: it is all foreground: it is flat as the mural paintings of Nineveh. But it is full of action: there is sequence in it and there is a scale of values and we make our great men large by defying perspective, as the Egyptians did.

Thus we can symbolize progress. We can also recognize progress in the mass, for there are things here which before were not—and these things have been increasingly here for we see the resources of the department, in officers and students and its products, in courses of instruction and in publications, increased from five hundred to a thousand per cent during the last decade. Still there is no perspective, for it is all so new and the men who have accomplished this are still at work. But we are now laying the foundations for a perspective. What we are doing today will be counted a century hence as the beginnings of things.

Probably the best thing we can undertake for the future is to fix a vanishing point in our horizon line, but what can we do who have had to work with physical things which would not remain long enough to vanish in a decently orderly manner—with things which stayed not upon the order of their going but went at once? Look at the agricultural emblems on the sides of South Hall: they were emblazoned to the honor of this department, but, from its burrow in the basement, agriculture looked outward and upward at them—as a man might be imagined to be looking from his grave in wrapt admiration of the tracery on his tombstone. South Hall was never an "agricultural building" except in a decorative sense. Twenty-five years ago we forsook the cellar of South Hall and captured an abandoned carpenter shop and it became the first "agricultural building" of the University. It was last seen spanning the creek just below the slope on which we are now

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standing and as this new building was rising, I often thought how dramatic it would be to point from this noble granite building to the creek-spanning shack below and thus indicate the growth of the department. It was our only chance of suggesting a physical perspective. But a few weeks ago someone, ignorant of the sacred memory of the old building, knocked it to pieces—for blotting the landscape, no doubt. What can we do to get the foundation for a perspective when buildings depart and men alone are permanent?

In the thick ruck of recency in which we are enfolded we gape for something which will serve future generations as a vanishing point for their perspective and happily we find it and hold it aloft and, lo, it is the life of a man! And so we carve an exponent of it in enduring bronze and place it at the entrance of our first enduring building and charge it to mark the beginnings of a new epoch—an epoch in which agriculture will really attain the prominence in University affairs which was intended by those who arranged for the establishment of this institution in the congress of the United States in 1862. This achievement is based upon the thought and work of Hilgard. All his associates accept him as an exponent of their ideals of agricultural science of their efforts toward dissemination of agricultural intelligence and of their confidence in agricultural development in this state. They have shared with him for years, full recognition of the opportunity for the erection here of an institution which shall stand pre-eminent not only in the demonstration of principle but in the exposition of the peculiar arts of production which shall signalize the Pacific Ocean countries as the greatest on earth in the extent and variety of their agriculture.

We unveil, then, this effigy of Hilgard, not as a memorial of his, for he needs none; his fame will live without such a token; his life is written in his work and that cannot be forgotten. What purpose, then, does this bronze serve? It is an enduring record of our appreciation of Hilgard: a

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monument to our own insight and sagacity. We do not propose to have some smug commentator of some coming century write in his books: "There was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a man in California named Hilgard, whose life and work are in the foundation of America's contribution to agriculture science, but his associates did not recognize his greatness."

And so we throw this bronze into the face of the future and we cry aloud to coming generations:

"This is our Hilgard! It will cost you great aspiration to produce a better man."

ADDRESS OF THOMAS FORSYTH HUNT ON THE MOTIVE OF THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The men and women connected with the College of Agriculture and Experiment Station have for their aim the development of the agricultural resources of California. The word *agriculture* is here used in its broadest significance: namely, the economic production of living things. The agency through which this body of men and women is to accomplish its purpose is the University of California, but I wish here and now publicly to announce that they are eager to co-operate with all other agencies—federal, state, or private—which may have for their main purpose the maintenance in California of a successful family life.

The assertion of Dr. Carver is fully accepted, that if one admits that life is worth living, he who allows the love of money, or power, or land, or science, or literature to interfere with the rearing of a noble family commits a criminal act. It is not necessary that every one should assume the marriage relation, but when a couple has taken each other for better or worse, it is a crime to permit any

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other motive or ambition to prevent the rearing of a worthy family. A man's business should be his means of making a successful home and not the means of getting a front page illustration. Between the age of twenty-five and fifty the wife may well assist in this enterprise.

I was permitted recently to sit at the table of a capable woman. She exclaimed: "I am a free woman. I am fifty. I no longer need to conceal my age." According to the law of probabilities this woman has twenty years to devote through education and politics to promoting the social welfare. The women of her class have the power to become through their mature judgment and culture the greatest and most benign influence in every community.

It is so plain that he who runs may read that not only can no development of agriculture be considered wise which does not lead to a successful family life, but that in California a proper development of its agriculture is essential to this end. The acceptance of this doctrine by the Anglo-Saxon race would solve many if not most of the difficulties which beset the body politic. It is the home-loving people who inherit the earth. It is the immediate duty of the College of Agriculture through research and education to make the agriculture of California more prosperous. Through its various divisions, it is straining every nerve to solve the material problems which beset those who create wealth from the soil. It is its chief duty, however, to develop those methods of agriculture which are of greatest benefit to society. The College of Agriculture is not primarily interested in whether the profits of agriculture enable the ranchman to substitute for his $3000 automobile a $5000 motor car, but it conceives its chief concern to be a prosperity that leads to the proper economic, social, moral, and spiritual ideals in the community.

When the interests of the individual and those of society become opposing forces, then here as elsewhere in the history of the human race individual interests must be sacrificed for the benefit of the common good. Lest I be mis-

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understood, permit me to moralize for a moment. While the trait which we honor most in any individual, the trait which has made all truly great heroes, is sacrifice, it does not follow that there is no virtue without sacrifice. In the new conception of a successful life, we do not have prosperity without morality, but we have prosperity because of morality. Efficiency and morality may not be synonymous terms, but they are mighty good chums.

This, then, shall be the keynote of the College of Agriculture. Those who shape its destinies will never forget that it was formed and continues to exist to promote the material welfare, but they will always recognize that this material welfare is for the sake of a successful human existence and that primarily this is based upon human efficiency. Five thousand years ago the natural resources of these hills and valleys were, so far as we know, as great as they are to-day. The Aladdin-like development that has occurred from Imperial to Shasta during fifty years is due to a hardy and efficient race of people. This race must be perpetuated. Once more I wish to repeat that the faculty of the College of Agriculture invites the co-operation, support, and guidance of all agencies which believe in this programme.

If now we take a hasty glance into the future we cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that the two great problems before California are to stabilize its water supply and humanize its labor supply. A few simple concrete illustrations may be better than much abstract discussion. In the Salt River Valley, Arizona, approximately ten million dollars have been expended, including the great Roosevelt Dam, to stabilize the water supply over 130,000 acres of already irrigated country and to bring 100,000 acres of the desert under the irrigation ditch. It was expected that this greatest reclamation enterprise in the United States would furnish about two dollars' worth of water per acre. In other words, a gross income per annum of about one-half a million dollars was anticipated. Although the enterprise

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has scarcely been completed in all its details, already it has contracts for one million dollars worth of electric energy. It is said that there is nowhere any more livable region than in the foothills of the California mountains. Here can be developed unlimited power without the loss of any natural resource except the oil required to lubricate the machinery. In developing the power, the water in the valleys will be mobilized. When this is accomplished California will have ten millions of people in place of two and a half millions. The slogan for California should not be one million persons for this or that city, depending upon which part of the State one is from, but two million families for California. Cover your hills and fill up your valleys with homes, and the cities will take care of themselves.

A certain rich man who made himself wealthy by mixing a well known California product with a commodity not unknown to any state and selling it as a cure for various ills, purchased a considerable tract of land in a State famous for the Presidents which it has produced and began breeding Percheron horses. This man had the money to buy the best horses of the breed. He was capable of employing the most expert superintendents. The soil and climate were sufficiently like that of "La Perche" to satisfy the requirements of horse breeding. One day I chanced to meet a groomsman, who declared that the enterprise was doomed to failure. "Why?" he was asked. "Because the Percheron horse is the result of loving care by generations of farmers. Mr. Blank, with all his millions, cannot purchase these generations of men without whom these horses are not possible." Our rich friend still operates his land, but he has long since ceased to try to breed horses.

California has rich river valleys whose conditions are like those which generations of Holland farmers have made famous. Canada has its agents in the lowlands inducing the Holland farmers to migrate to this northern country, while our river valleys with their mild climate remain undeveloped. To develop this State with the least human sacri-

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fice some selective process of locating people upon the land is needed. It is said that the farmers in the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea are now saving their money against the time of the opening of the Panama Canal. When the thrifty Mediterranean folk come to our shore it will be the first time in the history of the world that these races have migrated to a country which was similar in its possibilities to their own. To entice these people upon land by means of "decoys" would be a social and economic crime. We need to study the history and adaptation of the peoples who now live in regions with natural conditions similar to our own. Instead of alluring the off-scourings we should by some selective process secure the intelligent, thrifty, moral countryman whose generations of experience will help to develop this country. When he arrives he should be located among natural conditions with which he has been familiar and protected until he has his industry upon its feet. It would be a form of protection that would protect. If you wish to compete with the peoples of the world you must develop in every locality that industry which naturally does best in that particular region, and you must put it in the hands of people who are the most expert in that particular industry. By no other process can a state be developed to its highest efficiency.

The President and Board of Regents will be asked to establish a department in the College of Agriculture to be known as the Department of New Agricultural Industries. Already the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Experiment Stations have done splendid work in Plant Introduction. The introduction of a plant and the establishment of an industry upon that plant, however, are two widely different things. This department of New Agricultural Industries will not bear research nor a teaching department in the ordinary sense of the term. Its duty will be to study the agricultural industries of regions having conditions similar to California and to study our own State with reference to any industries which investi-

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gation may seem desirable to transplant. Last week we were told that Palestine is an exact counterpart of California, except that Palestine is only one-tenth the size. Within this diminutive area it duplicates the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, the valleys of the coast and the Sierra Nevadas and Coast Ranges. There is the same variation in climatic conditions and above all they have a four thousand year old agriculture. No one knows what agricultural lessons this old world holds in store for us. Perhaps it may yet enable us to become the greater Palestine of a new civilization.

We have been discussing a century long programme and a state wide movement. Every man and woman in this audience will have been gathered in by Father Time long before our water supply has been fully stabilized and our labor supply fully humanized. We are not now dealing with the individual, but with society. If society is not able to look beyond the confines of its individual members it is doomed to eternal damnation.

It may have occurred to some of you that the questions which have been discussed are beyond the realm of the institution which I for the moment represent. What has been said is for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that the University of California is perforce the leader of thought in all that relates to the welfare of the State and its College of Agriculture, if it is to be effective, must be the leader in all that relates to the development of Agriculture. To fail to accept such leadership would be to fail to understand the responsibility that is placed upon it. Any other attitude upon the part of the people, whose child the institution is, would be reprehensible.

Pedagogically speaking—I use that phrase because I do not know what it means—the College of Agriculture has two ambitions: one is to become the post-graduate institution in Agriculture for the western third of the United States, and the other is to supply the demand in California for teachers of agriculture in the secondary schools. To

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receive the agricultural graduates of the western third of the United States and train them for greater service in the institutions from which they came is not only a privilege but a responsibility and one which every other institution will welcome. If this institution assists in the preparation of the future instructors and investigators of our western colleges and prepares the teachers of agriculture for the high schools of California, it will be performing a service of untold value. The two ambitions to which reference has just been made are, of course, after all only a minor part of the educational work of the College of Agriculture?

In developing our undergraduate departments, at least some of them will be organized around the industries. Already we have the Departments of Dairy Industry, Animal Industry, Agronomy or field culture, Citriculture, Viticulture, Pomology or deciduous tree fruits, Floriculture and landscape gardening. The reasons for this are many and complex, but one important reason is that we are not teaching subjects, but students. The student is going to become a lawyer, or a citrus grower, or a doctor, or a stock raiser, or a teacher, or a dairyman. Harvard was founded to train ministers and afterwards because ministers often gave so-called medical advice, it began to train physicians. Later lawyers were brought in out of the rain.

The land grant colleges were founded to train young men and women in the several pursuits and professions of life, of which housekeeping is one—in some localities. The difficulty with agricultural teachers has been that they have been absorbed in the pursuit of knowledge and obsessed with the importance of their discoveries. Greek must be made a good training subject or it cannot justify its existence in the university curriculum. Agriculture can be made just as good a training subject if we remember we are dealing with young men who have red blood in their veins and who have an ambition to live a life of usefulness and power. If we forget it, they had better study Greek.

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The successful teacher of agricultural subjects must not only be concerned with his subject and with his students, but if he is also an investigator, as every good teacher should be, he must concern himself with the people in the industry which he teaches. There is no state in the Union where it is so necessary for the agricultural professor to know thoroughly his subject before he undertakes to deal with the men who make their living from agriculture as here. In California they do not hunt grizzlies with shotguns.

The College of Agriculture is not merely a teaching institution. It has three phases: research, education, and public service. When it comes to organizing its research work, especially where large questions and interests are involved, we shall organize around the problem rather than around the industry. These strictly research departments will not be charged with undergraduate teaching, but will be permitted to take post-graduate students. A real post-graduate student is one who is working out some problem. Thus there has been organized a research department with headquarters at Riverside. There has been called to preside over this department Dr. H. J. Webber, Professor of Plant Breeding of Cornell University, who is one of the best known teachers of post-graduate students in this country.

In the location of its headquarters the College of Agriculture is somewhat unique among institutions of its kind. Its location has been looked upon as an element of weakness. As the institution develops, I think it will be found to be, on the contrary, an element of great strength. It puts us face to face with the problem of how to give to the students of agriculture the training and experience which they must have in order to succeed in any one of several agricultural pursuits. The plan is to bring the student to the close of his sophomore year with as thorough a training in English, mathematics, language, history, and science as his years of schooling will permit. In addition to these studies, each student before reaching the junior year is to

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receive instruction in the following four agricultural subjects:

Agricultural Chemistry;
Soils;
Plant Propagation;
The Principles of Breeding Plants and Animals.

The last I consider almost as fundamental as the English language.

It is believed that the work of these four subjects should be required of every student, whatever agricultural profession or pursuit he may subsequently follow. Since they are to be required of all students of agriculture and since they are the first technical ones in the student's course, great care will be taken to secure for these four subjects inspiring teachers. The student who does not come early in his course in contact with, at least, one teacher that inspires him with the love of scholarship and his subject misses the best part of a college education. After instructors have been called they will not be permitted to place these sophomore subjects in the hands of assistants, while they confine their teaching to upper classmen.

Having brought the student to the close of his sophomore year, when he must decide in what agricultural profession or pursuit he will specialize, the question arises how, with our present headquarters, we can offer him suitable training. During the past decade forestry schools have been compelled to study this problem. It is possible to locate an institution on a farm, but there are some difficulties in locating it permanently in a forest. The approved plan in forestry schools now is to take the students at the close of the sophomore year to the forest camp, where for eight weeks they are given both theoretical and practical instruction. During the junior and the first half of the senior years they pursue their studies at the college. The last half of their senior year they are again taken to the forest, where they receive instruction under conditions

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which experience has shown are essential to the preparation of seasoned foresters. When the forestry courses were first established the students went to the forest camp at the close of the junior year.

There are three reasons for changing the camping period to the close of the sophomore year:

First, it serves to weed out the faint hearted. The young fellow who thinks forestry was a pink tea is promptly disillusioned and probably eliminated. Second, it enables the student to appreciate better the technical subjects which he will pursue during his junior and senior years. Third, it offers the student during his junior vacation an opportunity to secure employment in his chosen field, thus furnishing money with which to continue his education and valuable practical experience.

Applying this principal to our own problem, we may send sophomores who would specialize in dairying or animal husbandry to Davis, those who would specialize in agronomy either to Davis or Fresno, and those who wish to engage in horticultural pursuits or landscape gardening to Fresno or Riverside. When we have a department of Forestry, students can go to the forestry station at Chico or at Santa Monica. Students interested in strictly subtropical fruits can be taught at the Imperial Station some of the conditions of management in these rapidly developing and truly fascinating crops. Students who specialize in soils could be taken into the soil survey work and given actual training in soil mapping. If the option is Agricultural Chemistry, Plant Pathology or Entomology, the student will find the laboratories at Berkeley open to him, while students of agricultural education will find their training ground in connection with the regular summer school work of the University.

As we are now organized, students may go to Davis the last half of their senior year, where they can receive instruction in certain subjects which are developed better

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there than at Berkeley. This is notably true of instruction in animal husbandry and dairy industry.

While the University Farm at Davis is an exceedingly important factor in the development of the research work and is becoming a much more important factor than was anticipated in the training of University students, its most unique feature is the instruction given to University Farm School students. In this school an attempt is being made to solve the most important educational question in this country. We have in America a perfectly well understood system of education:

Primary grade	7 to 10
Grammar grade	11 to 14
High school grade	15 to 18
University grade	19 to 22
Post-graduate work	23 to 25

This is a thoroughly desirable system of education and one that should be extended to apply as nearly as possible to every young man and woman. There are, however, large numbers of young men who have reached the age of 19 who do not have the requirements for admission to college. They will not go to the high school because they are beyond high school age. They could not get the proper instruction if they did go, because the method of instruction must be different for students at 19 and those of 15 years. Age must be recognized as a factor in education. A young man or woman at 19 differs from the boy or girl of 15, physically, mentally, morally, and spiritually. One hundred and twenty students entered the University Farm School at Davis this semester and 118 entered freshmen in the College of Agriculture at Berkeley. The average age of the intrants at Davis was 19 years and 4 months; the average age of the freshman intrants in agriculture, 20 years and 5 months.

An agricultural high school is not being conducted at Davis, but there is being given a three years' course in Agri-

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culture to students of university age who do not have the requirements for admission to college. In addition to the students who come to Davis because they do not have the requirements to enter college, there are high school graduates who desire to spend only two years in further study and who find the last two years at Davis upon which they can enter better suited to their needs than the first two years at Berkeley. Every effort should be made to meet the needs of this class of men. The minimum age of entrance at Davis should be raised to 18 years, first, because the student should be induced to exhaust his local agencies of education before entering the farm school, and second, because when he has completed his three years' work he should be mature enough to enter upon business for himself.

Emphasis should be placed upon the fact that the training offered at Davis has nothing to do with the introduction of agriculture into the high schools. This should be done, but it is a wholly different thing. The high school system should be so arranged that every boy and girl between the ages of 15 and 18 can sleep at home. The boys and girls between these ages need their parents, and equally important, perhaps, the parents need the children. Eighteen is the accepted age for breaking home ties. From 18 to 22 is that transitional period during which the young man or woman gets adjusted to his or her surroundings. A student enters college a boy and leaves it a man. In some ways this is the most important fact concerning his university career. If this view is acepted, it will at once become apparent that the University Farm School at Davis is not a local institution. It may be just as useful to the young man who lives in Imperial Valley or in Butte County as to one born within five miles of Davis.

Unless the ranches of California are to be abandoned or are to be cultivated by foreigners, there are in California at this moment more than 8000 young men between the ages of 18 and 21 who will some day occupy the land.

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Less than six hundred are now receiving instruction in Agriculture at Berkeley and Davis. In a comparatively few years, a thousand students of agriculture will be enrolled at each place unless we do something to stop them. It should be determined at once what is the most efficient number that can be accommodated at Davis. It should be determined whether it is to be 300, or 600, or 1000. Plans should be made to start a new unit at Fresno as soon as the most efficient number that can be cared for at Davis is reached. At Fresno, where the University owns 5400 acres of land, there is an opportunity to build up the most extensive, most varied, and best instruction in horticulture, both for farm school and university, that is to be found in the world. No other such possibility exists anywhere. At Davis special emphasis should be placed upon dairying, animal husbandry, and deciduous tree fruits. At Fresno, the emphasis should be placed upon grapes, citrus and other sub-tropical fruits, and upon alfalfa and other forage crops. Instruction and investigations in cereals should be developed at both places. Under the conditions outlined a young man from Bakersfield or El Centro might go to Davis to receive instruction in animal husbandry and dairying, while the young man from Marysville might go to Fresno to specialize in horticultural subjects.

The tentative organization and scope of the College of Agriculture has been set forth with a good deal of tedious detail. I am frank to say that it has been done with a very definite purpose. The desire has been to make emphatic three points:

First—The College of Agriculture is located in California. Berkeley, Riverside, Whittier, Davis, Meloland and other places are merely points of operation. Los Angeles is the headquarters of the Santa Fe Railroad, but the Santa Fe Railroad is not located in Los Angeles. Last year the College of Agriculture met face to face 150,000 citizens of California.

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Second—The work which is carried on at Berkeley, Whittier, and Davis is not primarily for the development of the immediate localities, but is a part of a general scheme of education and research which looks toward promoting the general welfare of the commonwealth. The establishment of the Citrus Experiment Station is not primarily for the purpose of promoting the raising of oranges in Riverside County, but is for the purpose of studying problems which are of the greatest importance wherever agriculture exists under an irrigation ditch.

Third—Any additional points of operation which it may hereafter be deemed wise to establish must be considered from the standpoint of the general plan which has just been outlined and of the public welfare and not from the standpoint of local interest. I have faith that the people of California will rise to this high level.

I am not unmindful that there has been some criticism of the College of Agriculture and Experiment Station of the University of California. I am aware that this criticism has come from widely divergent sources and represents widely different view points. I am glad it has occurred. It is evidence that you believe that the College of Agriculture represents something that is worth while. If it is constructive criticism, I hope it will continue. What I wish to make clear is that I believe you have not fully understood the importance, scope, or complexity of your agricultural college. I could easily demonstrate to you by facts and figures its relative importance among institutions of its kind. This address is already quite too long. Suffice is to say that the fact is, my predecessors have not been exploiters. They and their associates have quietly applied their talents to the solution of fundamental questions. No amount of criticism could swerve them from the path which to them seemed for the ultimate good. Viewpoints may change, but I accept, as a sacred obligation, the responsibility of carrying forward the motive which has been their guiding star.

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The programme which has been outlined is a large one. It is worthy of a great State. For its success, it needs the help of every citizen. I believe it to be both logical and feasible. I ask for it the candid criticism of every person interested in the public welfare. With the assured and earnest support which this programme has of the President and Board of Regents, I have faith—and I am saying this in the most impersonal and detached way—that it must succeed. I trust that President Wheeler was prophetic when he remarked several months ago, "I believe it will appeal to the people of California. They like to do a good thing."

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METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM G. REED

When the Students' Observatory was established at Berkeley, the activities under Professor Soulé's direction included meteorological work as a voluntary observers' station of the United States Signal Service. The first rain-gauge was set up on October 16, 1886, and the meteorological work may be dated from that time. A synopsis of the results of the observations for the twenty-five years ending July 1, 1912, has been prepared by Professor Leuschner and is soon to be published in the University of California Publications in Geography, a series which has recently been established by the Editorial Committee and in which the results of the meteorological observations and climatic studies made at the University will appear. The meteorological work was continued by the Students' Observatory until last July, when this work was transferred to the Department of Geography.

There is, perhaps, no type of work in which so much depends upon the daily exacting attention to detail as meteorology. An observation missed in this work is lost forever; an approximate figure may be obtained and used in the preparation of the averages, but the greatest value of meteorological work depends upon an unbroken and regular series of observations. Such a series is that which was obtained

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by the Students' Observatory during a period of nearly twenty-six years. From the establishment of the meteorological station until September, 1892, the observations were taken three times daily and the results sent to the Signal Service at the end of each month. From September 1, 1892, observations have been taken at 8 o'clock, morning and evening, Pacific Time. The transfer of the meteorological work from the Signal Service to the Weather Bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture in no way broke the continuity of the record at Berkeley; the same pleasant relations which were established when the Observatory undertook the meteorological work have been continued to the present, and there is every indication that these relations have become permanent.

The plans made by the Signal Service for the work of the voluntary observers proved to be more detailed than seemed desirable under the conditions of the service, and in the early nineties a simplified form of report was adopted. While the new form of report was sent to the Weather Bureau, the observations maintained by the University were the same as before; so that the weather record of Berkeley is equalled for very few places in the United States not regular stations of the Weather Bureau.

In addition to the reports which have been sent to the Weather Bureau and printed in its publications, the University has issued a monthly meteorological synopsis of Berkeley regularly since the beginning of 1887. General synopses have been published at five-year intervals, which have summarized the results as shown by the monthly synopses up to the date of the general summary. The fifteen-year synopsis in 1902 was published in Volume V of the CHRONICLE on page 231, and the twenty-year synopsis in 1907 on page 467 of Volume X. The monthly synopses have been continued and somewhat enlarged since the work of the station was transferred to the Department of Geography, in the hope of making the report of even more interest and value than formerly. The mailing list now contains over

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two hundred names; and the circulation includes not only the immediate vicinity of Berkeley, but meteorologists and others throughout the civilized world.

The condition in which the original record of observations has been preserved is such that, when it was deemed advisable to make minor changes in the method of compiling and stating the results of the work to bring the form more strictly in accord with the recommendations of the International Meteorological Committee and that used by the Weather Bureau, this could be accomplished from the records as they were without necessitating a break in the series. The requests which are received for the synopsis from citizens of the State and from scientists throughout the world seem to indicate that it is well received, and is of interest and, perhaps, of value.

As is always the case it is the men, by whose efforts the work was initiated and carried on, to whom we owe such a record as this. The Signal Service lent its assistance and advice, and the University provided the space where the instruments could be used, but the Directors of the Students' Observatory have made the record possible. The first Director, Professor Frank Soulé, conceived the idea of equipping the new Observatory with meteorological instruments and carrying on regular observations of the weather elements there. He was also responsible for the work during the first five years, until he was succeeded as Director in 1892 by Professor A. O. Leuschner, whose interest and ability have maintained the high standard of the record for the past twenty years. The actual observations have been made by various members of the staff of the Observatory; and their faithful and punctual performance of an exacting routine duty gives the record its value.

The meteorological work, after being carried on at the Observatory for more than twenty-five years, has now become a part of the work of the Department of Geography and is under the immediate direction of the writer. It is not too much to say that it is a privilege to receive a record

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covering this long period in the excellent condition in which the Berkeley observations were delivered. The original record has been deposited in the Bancroft Library, where it may be safely kept and where it may be available for use in the study of the climate of Berkeley.

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MONTHLY AND ANNUAL METEOROLOGICAL SUMMARY FOR 1912
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Month 1912	Air Pressure	Air Temperature									Moisture							
		Means					Extremes				Dew Point		Vapor Pressure		Relative Humidity		Amount of Cloud	
	Reduced to Sea Level	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	Maximum	Minimum	Monthly	Maximum	Date	Minimum	Date	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 p.m.
	inches	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.		°F.		°F.	°F.	inch	inch	%	%	tenths	tenths
January	30.10	47.1	50.5	54.4	45.2	49.8	61.0	31	34.0	3	44	47	0.287	0.330	91	90	6	6
February	30.13	47.6	52.1	58.1	45.8	52.0	64.0	19	38.4	26	44	47	.282	.323	86	88	5	4
March	29.94	47.7	50.5	56.8	44.9	50.8	66.3	30	39.5	16	42	46	.266	.310	85	87	6	5
April	30.02	51.8	50.0	62.1	43.9	53.0	69.4	17	38.1	22	44	44	.284	.293	74	85	5	4
May	29.98	57.3	55.1	69.0	48.9	59.0	92.8	31	42.1	2	48	52	.345	.384	75	87	5	5
June	29.94	61.4	57.4	72.8	52.2	62.5	94.5	2	48.0	18	52	54	.400	.421	74	89	5	4
July	30.02	57.5	55.9	70.2	53.0	61.6	79.0	16	48.0	7	53	53	.406	.407	86	90	8	5
August	29.98	59.8	57.8	73.5	53.8	63.6	81.7	7	48.9	29	54	55	.416	.435	92	83	5	3
September	29.96	60.6	60.6	75.6	55.6	65.6	100.8	18	48.2	3	56	56	.446	.451	85	87	5	5
October	30.03	53.6	54.0	71.9	48.1	60.0	86.2	13	43.1	24	47	47	.322	.326	79	79	3	1
November	30.13	50.7	53.2	63.9	47.4	55.6	71.2	26	42.5	30	46	47	.316	.324	86	81	4	2
December	30.23	44.2	47.5	57.9	41.7	49.8	63.2	7	35.3	27	37	40	.229	.254	78	77	4	3
Year	30.04	53.3	53.7	65.5	48.4	56.9	100.8	Sept. 18	34.0	Jan. 3	47	49	0.333	0.355	83	85	5	4

A change in the thermometer exposure April 1, makes the readings before and after that date not strictly comparable.

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Latitude 37° 52′ North. Longitude 122° 16′ West. Altitude 320 feet.
Thermometers 5 feet above ground. Rain-gage 15 feet above ground.

Month 1912	Precipitation			Weather (Number of Days)						Wind Direction at 8 A.M. and 8 P.M. (Number of Observations)								
	Total	Most in a Day		Clear	Partly Cloudy	Cloudy	With Fog	With Rain		N	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.	Calm
		Amt.	Date					0.01″ and over	0.04″ and over									
	inches	inches																
January	3.65	1.08	26	9	6	16	1	12	11	10	12	2	17	11	2	0	4	4
February	0.54	0.21	14	13	8	8	6	3	3	13	9	4	6	8	2	2	6	8
March	2.96	1.20	12	10	8	13	1	6	5	4	7	1	8	10	13	7	5	7
April	1.47	0.48	10	11	13	6	0	7	5	2	0	1	0	15	13	6	20	3
May	1.56	0.63	25	12	8	11	8	6	6	1	0	0	7	8	18	6	7	15
June	0.85	0.61	24	13	8	9	7	4	2	0	0	0	4	1	23	3	3	26
July	0	0	.....	5	20	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	6	19	15	8	1	13
August	0	0	.....	12	15	4	3	0	0	1	0	0	4	10	18	7	0	22
September.	1.46	0.90	6	17	5	8	8	3	3	4	0	1	4	26	13	6	1	5
October	0.70	0.29	25	19	11	1	1	5	4	6	0	0	4	25	9	6	8	4
November.	3.88	2.39	6	15	6	9	5	10	6	3	0	0	3	29	7	7	9	2
December.	1.62	0.70	16	15	8	8	1	6	5	10	2	1	8	14	9	1	7	10
Year	18.69	2.39	Nov. 6	151	116	99	44	62	50	54	30	10	71	176	142	59	71	119

Observations made by the Students' Observatory before July 1, after July 1 by the Department of Geography.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD

VICTOR H. HENDERSON

Seven new men have been called to new full professorships in the Department of Agriculture since the present University year began. This is first fruit of the resolve of the Regents to make the College of Agriculture of the highest standard in scientific and educational activity and in service to the common weal.

Irrigated agriculture is still an experiment for the white man. It bristles with possibilities of wealth or of failure. The growing in California of the citrus fruits and of the products of the tropics is still a huge and glorious experiment, with multifarious unknown factors. So Director Thomas Forsyth Hunt has seen as a first duty the establishment of a Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture in Southern California. Here a staff of experienced investigators will carry on fundamental researches as to how to feed and water and care for the citrus trees and how to handle their product, how to produce the most and the best most efficiently and economically, how to improve seeds, plants, strains, methods, and results. Young men already graduates of agricultural colleges will be trained there as scientific investigators, in the same stimulating participation in actual research that has made the Lick Observatory so potent in the training of young astronomers.

A foremost authority in plant-breeding and in citrus problems has been called as Dean of the Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture. This is Herbert J. Webber, Professor of Plant Breeding in Cornell University. Dean Webber spent four years in Florida in the investigation of the diseases of citrus trees. For many years he carried on exceedingly fruitful work in plant-breeding as an expert in the United States Department of Agriculture.

The University Farm at Davis is another activity of the University to which Director Hunt has given a fresh impetus. It was at first supposed that the students who would resort thither would

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be of high school age, but experience has shown that the intrants are actually older than freshmen at Berkeley. Now 18 is to be made the minimum age of admission and the Farm School will address itself to the important task of training young men who do not fit into the ordinary educational scheme, but yet want preparation for practical farm life. As Dean of the University Farm School and Vice-Director of the United States Agricultural Experiment Station has been appointed Hubert E. Van Norman, of Pennsylvania State College, founder and long head of the annual national dairy show, and an authority in animal industry.

After six years of work, Charles F. Shaw has just published a complete soil map of Pennsylvania, invaluable as a guide to investor and farmer. Now Professor Shaw comes to carry on this same important task in California. Since a great mass of valuable work on this problem has already been achieved through several decades of investigation by Professor Eugene W. Hilgard and Professor R. H. Loughridge, it is believed that six years' work more will complete the task in California, vast as is the area and varied as are the soil conditions involved.

The other new full professors in agriculture are Arnold V. Stubenrauch, of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture, a graduate of the University of California, who comes to the chair of Pomology; John W. Gilmore, agronomist, now President of the College of Hawaii, and long experienced in tropical agriculture through having directed experiment stations in Hawaii and in the Philippines, and J. W. Gregg, who comes from Pennsylvania State College to be Professor of Floriculture and Landscape Gardening.

As an educational policy it is planned that during the freshman and sophomore years all agricultural students shall have courses in the four fundamental subjects of agricultural chemistry, soils, plant propagation, and the principles of breeding plants and animals, each of these four staples to be taught by the strongest and best men to be found. With his Junior year, each student must choose one special subject as the core of his professional training, among these special fields being dairying, animal industry, soils and fertilizers, general agriculture, floriculture and landscape gardening, plant pathology, parasitology, agricultural education, pomology, citriculture, nutrition and agricultural chemistry, insecticides, insect biology, viticulture, and irrigation and agricultural engineering.

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DEDICATION OF AGRICULTURE HALL

Agriculture Hall, the beautiful new granite building which has risen on the bluff fronting the Dana street entrance to the campus, was dedicated on November 20. At the exercises in the Harmon Gynasium there were addresses by President Wheeler, Dean Hunt, Judge Peter J. Shields of Sacramento, and E. P. Clarke, editor of the Riverside Daily Press. After the investiture of Dr. Hunt as Dean and Director, the assemblage proceeded to the new building. In the absence of Governor Hiram W. Johnson, a letter from him was read by President Wheeler. It was in part as follows:

"I am more interested in the relation of the Agricultural College to the people of our state than in almost any other department of our great University. The University has been so surpassingly prosperous and has made such tremendous strides in all other directions, has accomplished results of which all of us are so proud, that I am anxious that the Agricultural Department, in its relation to the farmers and the horticulturists of the state, shall be of equal value and eminence. Since I have been Governor, one of my dreams has been to make this particular department the most useful adjunct of all to the people of the state—the place where every man who tills the soil, or deals in its products, or is interested in its productivity or possibilities, will go for information and for guidance and will find all that he seeks. I know that in this dream of mine I have the full sympathy of yourself and the Regents, and I believe that under the present administration of the University, that dream is about to be realized."

In Governor Johnson's behalf, Regent Arthur W. Foster spoke and then presented the keys of the building to President Wheeler, who in turn presented them to Director Hunt. A bronze bust of Eugene W. Hilgard, Professor Emeritus of Agriculture, was unveiled. Professor R. H. Loughridge read a response from Professor Hilgard, who was prevented by illness from being present.

On the evening of the same day addresses were delivered at Agriculture Hall by Director Hunt and by Professor Frederick T. Marshall, Professor Wickson presiding.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

That the University should offer educational opportunity to every community and to every citizen of California is the spirit in which has been planned the Department of University Extension. To the directorship thereof Professor Ira W. Howerth has come from similar work for the University of Chicago.

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Five departments are to be organized in the University Extension Division: the departments of Class Instruction, Correspondence Instruction, Public Lectures, Debate and Public Discussion, and Information and Social Welfare.

Classes will be organized wherever a sufficient number of persons can be united for the study of a single subject. Some classes will be especially for teachers, some for parents, and various others for persons engaged in the pursuit of special industrial occupations.

Instruction by correspondence will also be offered for isolated students who cannot conveniently join regularly organized classes. This work has been proved by experience elsewhere to meet a vital need of ambitious men and women who wish to better their equipment for life through systematic study. It gives to people engaged in industrial or professional occupations an opportunity of increasing their efficiency without giving up their bread-winning tasks. This department will coöperate with the Summer Session, by enabling Summer Session students to continue their summer's work by correspondence.

The Department of Public Lectures will provide series of from six to twelve lectures, relating to one topic and delivered by one man, or will provide single lectures, musical recitals, readings, or concerts. The University Extension Division will utilize the popular desire for recreation and entertainment in an endeavor to elevate the standards of public intelligence and taste.

The Department of Debate and Public Discussion will assist high school, city, and rural debating clubs in the way of organization and the selection of subjects, supplying references, traveling libraries, etc. The University of Wisconsin sends out some 2,500 such "package libraries" every year.

The Department of Information and Social Welfare will serve as a clearing-house for disseminating information with respect to general well-being. The Department will not only answer questions, but will issue bulletins, collect and exhibit maps, charts, models, pictures, etc., of social interest, and lend lantern-slides to communities desiring their use. The potent possibilities of moving pictures will be recognized and utilized. It is hoped to organize a municipal reference library for the service of the cities of the state, as a source of information in regard to municipal organization, public utilities, etc. It is hoped also to aid the movement toward the wider and more effective use of schools and other buildings belonging to the public. The Division will coöperate with communities desirous of establishing civic and social centers.

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This multifold work, of such significance for the welfare of California, will be developed as rapidly as funds are available. The legislature has been asked for a special appropriation for the development of University Extension. Wisconsin now appropriates $125,000 per annum for University Extension, and Wisconsin has neither the population nor the wealth of California.

PRESIDENT WHEELER'S BIENNIAL REPORT

President Wheeler's Report for the two years ending June 30, 1912, forms a volume of nearly 600 pages. He points out that the number of students at Berkeley is increasing about 13 per cent pen annum, that in the two years considered there was a growth of 29 per cent in the enrollment of the four general colleges, a decline of 23 per cent in the technical colleges, and an increase of 88 per cent in the College of Agriculture. Of the students at Berkeley, 61.7 per cent are men, as compared with 56.7 per cent in 1903. During the same ten years the number of graduate students increased from 219 to 578, and the tendency toward higher scientific work and preparation for the career of college teacher and investigator grew more and more marked.

President Wheeler points out that the urban communities of California do not have so large a proportion of the students as would correspond with their population; thus San Francisco, with 17.5 per cent of the population of California, had in 1912 but 9.9 per cent of the incoming students; Los Angeles County, with 21.2 per cent of the population, 16.3 per cent of the incoming students, while the following counties sent a proportion of students exceeding their claim by population: Lake, Mendocino, Colusa, Shasta, Tehama, Yolo, Yuba, Alameda, Contra Costa, Napa, Solano, Madera, Stanislaus, Tulare, Santa Cruz, Riverside, Santa Barbara, Amador, Eldorado, Sonoma, Sutter, Marin, San Mateo, Nevada, Placer.

An estimate compiled by Professor Plehn is presented that $200 represents the annual cost to the University for the education of a student at Berkeley. The amount available in 1912 for the current expenses of the University is stated at $1,309,722. In advocating a vigorous development of the agricultural work of the University President Wheeler points out that in 1890 the urban population of the United States constituted 36.1 per cent and the rural population 63.9 per cent of the whole, but that by 1910 the urban population was 46.3 per cent and the proportion of rural population had shrunk to 53.7. He expresses the opinion that "the fearful increase in cost of living is in part, at least, a result of this dislodgement

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as between the city and country. The solution of the difficulty will only be found in the more intelligent use of the land. In any case it has become the established policy of the Regents to develop the agricultural department of the University to its fullest extent in the belief that no department of the University can prove quite so direct and immediate an application of its endeavors to the well-being of the community.''

President Wheeler discusses the progress that is being made in the development of a strong medical department in San Francisco, the recognition of the provision for professional instruction in law at Berkeley as the School of Jurisprudence, the re-organization and strengthening of the Department of Chemistry, the hopeful plans for the development of the Department of University Extension, etc.

A great auditorium is declared the most urgent need of the University, a great organ to be the central feature thereof. It is pointed out that already the great reading-room of the new University Library is over-crowded, and that within two years the present bookstack will be outgrown.

The President's Report includes also a summary of departmental reports, the Secretary's Reports for 1910-11 and 1911-12, lists of writings of officers of the University published during 1910-12, the Comptroller's financial statistics, the Recorder's educational statistics, detailed statistics showing that the Infirmary had in 1911-12 a daily average of 10.5 bed-patients and the dispensary a daily average of 74.8, reports from various other institutions within the University, such as the Lick Observatory, the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoölogy, etc., sixty pages of lists of gifts to the University during the two years, lists of University meetings, lectures, etc., and other customary features of the President's Report.

MRS. HEARST'S BIRTHDAY

Regent Phoebe Apperson Hearst's seventieth birthday was observed on December 3 by a special University Meeting in the Harmon Gymnasium, at which the Regents, Faculty, and students gathered to pay their tribute of honor and affection.

Regent F. W. Dohrmann spoke in behalf of the Regents, Professor Alexis F. Lange for the Faculty, and Miss Harriet Judd for the students. President Wheeler then read the resolutions adopted by the Regents, and presented an engrossed and illuminated parchment copy of them to Mrs. Hearst. Mrs. Hearst then responded in a few graceful words.

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The resolutions of the Regents were as follows:

Phoebe Apperson Hearst, gentle mother of the University, on this your birthday we come bearing greetings of honor and of love.

In the older days of this University a little company of scholars fed the flame of learning here, in a bare and humble precinct. But your eyes beheld the vision of a broader day, when thronging thousands would gather from all the Americas, and from lands beyond the sea, to enter into communion with the ardent spirit of the age, and the loftiest spirit of all the ages, and to quicken their minds and souls for the full living of life, and for service to their fellows and the state.

Let us lay the foundations broad and deep, you said, let us plan not for today that fades already, but for ages yet to flower. The ministry of beauty was yours. Other minds have kindled and will enkindle from your aspiration. Future generations, coming in unending pilgrimage to these academic groves, will carry hence the gospel of an architecture and an art fit enhancement and fit expression of what God has wrought, here in this fair seaward prospect from the threshold of the hills.

From all lands have you gathered here the sculptured stone, the pictured clay, the metal hand-enwrought, and the fabric all interwoven with symbol and tradition—things which tell the story of how men have lived their lives through the changing ages. From the presses of mediaeval printers, from the cells of monkish illuminators and Oriental craftsmen, you have garnered rare and beautiful volumes; from the wonderland of living beings, strange plants and birds and beasts; from the workshops of Germany and France, apparatus for constructive researches in science; from the depths of the hills you have quarried enduring granite, to rear a mighty habitation for the mining arts; to the service of the community have you given scientists, men of affairs, and artists in form, color, sound, and the written word, all trained for their work in the world by your fostering care.

But first and most, you have given to your time fit ensample of good womanhood—neighbor, friend, wife, mother—mother in tender affection to a very host of young and old, of people and of causes and of aspirations. Diligent in toil, faithful in responsibilities, generous in affection, modest and simple in demeanor, forgetful always of yourself and thoughtful always of others, good citizen, wise counsellor, lover of truth, beauty, righteousness, and wisdom, now do we say, with hearts overflowing with affection, that of all your varied service to the world, most precious of all is the testimony of your life in its living to the goodness and beauty of woman.

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THE SCHOOL OF JURISPRUDENCE

The provision at Berkeley for professional instruction in law has now been officially constituted, by vote of the Regents, "The School of Jurisprudence of the University of California." This was done in recognition of the high standards of organization and work now attained.

This year's enrollment for the full course of three years, leading to the degree of J. D., is 121. Of these, 67 are in the first year (to which seniors may be admitted) while of the others, all of whom are of graduate status, 37 are in the second year and 17 in the third. Besides the 121 professional students, some 400 other students are receiving instruction from the Department of Jurisprudence.

The beauty and the admirable comfort and convenience of Boalt Hall, presented to the University by Mrs. Elizabeth J. Boalt and the lawyers of California, has been a great contribution toward the flourishing growth of the School of Jurisprudence. The faculty and the students of the department have now joined in the establishment of the "California Law Review," a legal quarterly of excellent quality, under the editorship of Professor Orrin K. McMurray.

GRADUATE ENROLLMENT

The enrollment of graduate students for the first half of 1912–13 reached a total of 518, as compared with 440 for a corresponding time the previous year. Of these, 119 were graduate students last year as well as this, 86 of these being being men and 33 women. Among the graduate students, men are in the majority. Approximately half of the graduate students received their bachelor's degree from the University of California. From institutions in foreign lands come 18. The departments with the largest enrollment are English, 56; Jurisprudence, 53; History, 51; German, 27; Latin, 27; Agriculture, 23; Education, 22; Medicine, 21; and Zoology, 20. For 1912–13 246 graduate courses have been offered.

DEGREES CONFERRED

96 degrees were conferred at the December meeting of the Regents. Of the 87 undergraduates who received the bachelor's degree, 75 were from California, two from Massachusetts, and one each from Iowa, Arizona, Montana, Oregon, and Hawaii, and one each from Germany, Russia, China, Austrian Galicia, and Switzerland.

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THE DEATH OF EUGENE R. HALLETT

The death of Eugene Russell Hallett, '05, means the loss to the University of one of its most loyal members. As an undergraduate, he was Editor of the Blue and Gold, Manager of the Californian, and a leader in student affairs. He was for a year Secretary to the President, and then left the University to become founder and editor of the Berkeley Independent. At the time of his death he was manager of the bond-selling house of Louis Sloss & Company, of San Francisco. A busy and successful man of affairs, he found time for most valuable service to the University as the alumnus representative on the Executive Committee of the Associated Students, where his council was always wise, generous, and effective.

FACULTY MATTERS

Professor Alexis F. Lange represented the University at the fourteenth annual conference of the Association of American Universities, in Philadelphia.

The Pacific Coast Gas Association at its twentieth convention conferred a gold medal upon Professor C. L. Cory for his paper on "Gas Rates and their Determination." Only one other gold medal has ever been awarded by this association.

The series of lectures on "Great Books," given every Friday afternoon at 4 in the Greek Theatre by Professor Charles Mills Gayley, during the past half-year, have dealt with the Greek drama. These lectures have been attended by audiences of from 500 to 1000 people, of whom about half are students.

As the excavations in the asphalt beds at Rancho la Brea, near Los Angeles, are continued, Professor J. C. Merriam is more and more delighted with the richness of material found. Never before has the palaeontologist found such complete material for knowledge as to the prevailing fauna of a region at a particular period in the earth's past history.

That a joint investigation of factors in the transmission of infantile paralysis had been undertaken by the University and the State Board of Health, in response to an appeal from the State Board, was reported to the Regents by President Wheeler on December 20. Director Wilbur A. Sawyer of the State Hygienic Laboratory and Professor W. B. Herms of the Department of Agriculture

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are, therefore, investigating the problem of whether poliomyelitis is transmissable by the bite of the stable fly. At the recent International Congress of Hygiene, Professor Rosenau of Harvard announced that he had discovered this to be the fact.

Semi-annual bulletins are now being issued by the University giving detailed information as to the earthquakes registered at the Lick Observatory and at the Berkeley Seismographic Station. During the six months from October 1, 1911, to March 31, 1912, forty-eight such records were made at Mount Hamilton, and thirty-seven by the instruments in the basement of the new University Library.

An international company including forty of the most eminent geographers of Europe and an equal number from the chief universities of America visited the University on September 21, called upon President Wheeler at his home, and were entertained by the Faculty Club in the garden between their clubhouse and Strawberry Cañon.

UNDERGRADUATE MATTERS

After several days of rain and a culminating morning downpour which left California Field a lake of liquid mud, the annual California–Stanford football game was played December 9 before some twenty-three thousand people. The result was a tie, three to three.

California Field accommodates 23,000 people, including standing room, but the demand from students and alumni vastly exceeds the supply of tickets. Two students who were brought before the undergraduate Students' Affairs Committee charged with attempting to sell their tickets at advanced prices were prohibited from ever hereafter purchasing any football tickets, and recommendation was transmitted to President Wheeler that he should officially reprimand them. The Students' Affairs Committee made up of women students took similar action in regard to one woman student charged with the same act.

The Stanford Seniors were entertained at luncheon by the California Seniors before the game, the men at Senior Hall and the women at Women's Senior Hall.

On the evening before the annual California-Stanford football game, an alumni dinner was held at the Commercial Club in San Francisco. Representatives of twenty-six classes were present, to a total of three hundred. J. Arthur Elston, '97, President of the Alumni Association, presided. Among the speakers were President Wheeler, Scott Hendricks, '04; Frank Powers, '84; former Governor George C. Pardee, '79, and Milton H. Schwartz, '01.

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Stirling B. Peart, '13, of Woodland, has been elected by the football team as captain, to succeed John Allen Stroud, '13.

At the annual Ax Rally on November 6, Judge Everett J. Brown, '98, and Judge William H. Waste, '91, told the history of the capture of the Stanford trophy, and J. S. Conklin was selected as its custodian, to succeed W. M. Forker, '13.

On Thanksgiving Day the 'varsity team defeated the University of Southern California, at Los Angeles, by 18 to 0. (The California players were not the first 'varsity).

The California–Stanford "soccer" football game played at Stanford on Thanksgiving Day resulted in a tie, with a score of two to two.

On November 9 Stanford defeated California at "soccer" by 3 to 1.

California defeated Stanford in the second annual intercollegiate golf tournament, November 23, at the Ingleside Links, by a score of four to two.

High school track athletes from hundreds of Pacific Coast communities will participate in the third annual Pacific Coast Interscholastic Meet, at the University of California, on April 4 and 5. There will be swimming and tennis contests, as well as track events. In charge of the preparations are F. H. Allen, '13, President of the Big C Society, and Elbert M. Vail, '12.

Delta Kappa Epsilon was winner in the Interfraternity Tennis tournament.

At a conference of representatives from all the fraternities it was agreed to offer to the individual chapters for signature the following statement:

> "We, the undersigned, believing it to be for the best interests of the University of California, the entering students, and ourselves, that pledging early in the high school course be abolished, declare ourselves opposed to such a practice, and hereby promise to refrain from 'bidding' high school students before the last half year in high school. This affirmation we make, each as an individual fraternity, under no common agreement, but every chapter being bound merely by its own honor and given word. These promises to take effect and to be made public if fifteen fraternities signify their intentions by signing this statement."

At one of the weekly "Senior Singings" at Senior Hall, President Wheeler, when called upon to speak, discussed the dangers involved in excessive participation in "college activities."

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At the weekly "Senior Singing" of the Senior women, on October 10, it was resolved that everything possible be done by the women students to discourage the custom of wearing flowers at college dances—this as an expression of a desire that simplicity be sought for and extravagance avoided in the social life of the students. The movement was promptly endorsed by a number of other organizations of the women students.

While the inadequacy of the Harmon Gymnasium and the growth in number of students has made it necessary to close the bi-weekly University Meetings to the general public, alumni may obtain cards of admission for any University Meeting by applying to the President's Office in California Hall before 11 o'clock on the day of these meetings. They occur on alternate Friday mornings at 11.

The English Club has published an illustrated volume entitled "California Play and Pageant." It records the history of dramatics and pageantry in the University of California.

The 1914 Junior Farce, "Engaged," was written by Miss Clotilde Grunsky, '14, while the curtain-raiser, "A Full House," was by N. L. McLaren and K. T. Perkins.

The "Californian" will be edited during the second half of 1912-13 by R. R. Randall, '13; the managing editor will be R. M. Eaton, '14, and the business manager, E. F. Moulton, '13.

The editor of the Occident for the second half of 1912-13 will be Lloyd A. Myers, '13; the managing editor, R. G. Ham, '14; and the manager, A. R. Pohli, '14. For the Womans' Day Occident, Evelyn Steel, '13, has been appointed editor, and Emma Black, '13, manager.

A new weekly, entitled "Brass Tacks," has been established by the student organization, the League of the Republic. It proposes to discuss political, social, and economic questions of national, state, and local interest, and not to confine itself to University affairs.

The "University Parliament" held its first public meeting and debate on October 29 at Hearst Hall. The issues of the campaign were discussed by G. A. Work, '11, and C. M. Torrey, '13, for the Wilson Club, and by H. H. Phleger, '12, and N. B. Drury, '12, for the "Bull Moose Club."

At the annual Intercollegiate Debate with Stanford, November 1, the speakers were A. W. Drury, '14, V. F. Collins, '13, and L. E. Goodman, '13, for California, and P. D. Nowell, '13, H. F. Coyle, '13, and A. H. Morosco, '16, for Stanford. The subject was: "Resolved, That California should establish a series of endowed and non-partisan newspapers." Stanford was winner.

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The Upper Division Bonnheim Prize of $100 was won on November 21 by W. G. Marvin, '14. The subject for discussion was Lord Brougham's statement, "To save his client by all means and expedients is the first and only duty of an advocate."

T. D. Hall, '16, won the annual Peace Prize Discussion on November 16.

The Glee Club made its usual Christmas expedition, singing in some fifteen different towns in Southern California and in the San Joaquin valley.

Frederick Dorsey Stephens, of Hollywood, Los Angeles, a senior in the College of Social Sciences, has been appointed as the next Rhodes Scholar from California.

Some twenty students are participating in work in southwest Berkeley to make the Hawthorne School a center of instruction and usefulness for the whole community instead of for the children only. In the free night school there the students are giving instruction in English, civics, arithmetic, etc., several evenings each week, and there are gymnasium and athletic classes two nights a week.

GIFTS TO THE UNIVERSITY

The estate of Alexander Agassiz has given $400 for remuneration for an Agassiz research assistant in Zoology, to assist Professor Charles A. Kofoid in his work on the materials collected by the Agassiz Expedition to the South Seas of which Professor Kofoid was a member.

Albert Bonnheim of Sacramento has given $145 for the annual Bonnheim Discussion Prize.

Dr. Mary Botsford, anaesthetist at the University Hospital, has presented to the University an Ohio Monovalve for gas and oxygen anaesthesia.

Miss Mary A. Carmany has presented to the Department of Geology a collection of over eight hundred specimens of minerals and ores. The collection was assembled by her brother, the late J. H. Carmany, who edited the Overland Monthly from 1870 to 1875 and later engaged in mining in Lower California.

J. C. Cebrian, by an additional gift to the University Library, has brought the collection of Spanish and other works which he has presented to the University to a total of over fifteen hundred volumes.

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Dr. W. S. Dalrymple of Ogden, Utah, has presented to the library of the College of Dentistry forty-five bound volumes of dental journals.

The John Deere Plow Company of San Francisco has presented to the Department of Agriculture, for use in experimental work with field crops at the University Farm, a 1-G Dunham pulverizer.

Mrs. M. A. Farquhar has presented to the Library nine bound volumes of the New York Tribune, covering the Civil War period, 1861 to 1865.

Mrs. Emma Shafter Howard has presented two oak-framed engravings by Haig of Chartres Cathedral and of Peterborough.

Mrs. Carrie M. Jones of Los Angeles bequeathed to the University $100,000 to endow scholarships for young men. The income is to go to young men, already qualified for admission to the University, who intend to take a full course and not a partial course. These scholarships are for students who without this aid would be unable to pursue their studies at the University. A decree of final distribution has been entered, and the income will soon be available for the support of these scholarships.

The Knights of St. Patrick have presented to the University $100 for the purchase of Irish books for the Library, this being their third annual contribution of a like amount and for similar purposes.

The Pacific Coast Gas Association, by subscription of its members, has guaranteed a gift of $2,700 per annum for five years for the maintainance of a course leading to a degree in gas engineering. Regent John A. Britton, Professor Clarence L. Cory, and Professor Robert Sibley were appointed by President Wheeler a committee to recommend a formal course of study for this degree and to outline a program for the proper employment of this gift.

Mrs. Emma G. Towne of Palo Alto has presented to the University for the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology five perfect specimens of the now nearly extinct California Condor (Gymnogyps Californianus). These were collected between 1880 and 1895 by her husband, the late Edward B. Towne, and are valued at approximately $1,000.

Jorge Andres Villegas, '13, has presented to the University two pieces of pottery found in recent excavations in an old Indian cemetery at El Temple in the province of Santiago, also the "Anthropology of Chile" by Dr. Carlos E. Porter.

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Regent Charles S. Wheeler has presented to the University Library the original parchment order given by Queen Elizabeth on December 4, 1594, to the Lord High Treasurer, providing funds for outfitting an expedition led to the West Indies in August, 1595, by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins. The autograph endorsement of the Lord High Treasurer, Burleigh, ordering payment of the first thousand pounds to "Sir Thomas (?) Hawkyns and Sir Francis Drak" appears on the reverse of the document.

BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

The gift funds now having become fully available, the completing of plans for the Sather Campanile has been authorized, and also the letting of contracts. This white granite tower is to be approximately 36 feet square and 300 feet in height. It is to stand where the flagstaff now rises, just west of Bacon Hall. The cost, including the elevator and architectural expenses, but not including finish floors nor the interior trim, is to be $200,000. There is, besides, a separate fund of $25,000 for the chimes—the Sather Bells, which are to be hung in the beautiful open belfry of the Campanile, 250 feet above the campus.

An addition has been added to the Infirmary which contains a large waiting-room, offices for the medical staff, and additional hospital accommodations for fifteen students.

APPOINTMENTS

Professor of Plant Breeding, Director of the Citrus Experiment Station, and Dean of the Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture, Dr. H. J. Webber, Professor of Plant Breeding in Cornell University. This appointment is from December 1, 1912.

Vice-Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and Dean of the University Farm School, Hubert E. Van Norman, from February 1, 1913.

Professor of Pomology, Arnold V. Stubenrauch, '99, Pomologist in charge of field investigations of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture. (This appointment dates from the time of Professor Stubenrauch's arrival in the spring of 1913.)

Professor of Agronomy, Dr. John W. Gilmore, President of the University of Hawaii. This appointment is from July 1.

Professor of Soil Technology, Charles F. Shaw, of Pennsylvania State College, from January 1.

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Professor of Floriculture and Landscape Gardening, J. W. Gregg, of Pennsylvania State College, from January 1.

Assistant Professor of Physical Culture, Frank Louis Kleeberger, '08, of the University of Arizona, from January 1, 1913.

Acting Manager of the Kearney Vineyard (the 5,400-acre estate near Fresno bequeathed to the University by M. Theo. Kearney), Parker Frisselle, as successor to his father, the late Ralph Frisselle.

Master of the Alexander Agassiz and Business Agent for the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, W. C. Crandall, from February 1, 1913.

Instructor in Economics, Dr. Carleton H. Parker, '04, from January 1, 1913.

Instructor in Shop Work (in the University Farm School), Herbert L. Belton.

Assistant Chemist in Fertilizer Control, Walter H. Dore, from December 1, 1912.

Assistants: S. E. Bailey, '09, Physiology (in the Dental Department) from January 1, 1913; Dr. Jule B. Frankenheimer, Medicine (in the Medical Department); Dr. Jacob C. Geiger, State Hygienic Laboratory; A. Werner Lawson, '12, Geology, from January 1st; Howard C. Naffziger, Surgery, from October 8; Miss Violet Richardson, Physical Culture, from September 1, 1912, to April 30th; Lester Charles Uren, Mining, from September 16th; Clayton J. Wight, Botany and Horticulture (at the University Farm School), from September 1.

PROMOTIONS AND CHANGES IN TITLE

J. Eliot Coit, to be Professor of Citriculture.

Dr. W. P. Willard, from Instructor in Urology to Instructor in Surgery.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Leroy Anderson, Professor of Dairy Industry, from January 1 to June 30, 1913.

Thomas Rutherford Bacon, Professor of Modern European History, to December, 1914.

H. J. Quayle, Assistant Professor of Entomology, from January 1 to December 31, 1913.

George W. Shaw, Associate Professor of Experimental Agronomy and Agricultural Technology, from January 1 to June 30, 1913.

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RESIGNATIONS

Emeritus Professor of Diseases of the Skin, Dr. D. W. Montgomery, from July 1, 1912.

Manager of the University Farm, Roger M. Roberts, from November 30.

Assistant Professor of Physical Culture, V. V. Ligda, from December 31, 1912.

Chemist in Fertilizer Control (in the Department of Agriculture), P. L. McCreary, from November 30.

Assistant Cerealist, W. A. Boys, from September 30.

Instructors: Solomon Blum, Political Economy, from December 31; Dr. A. M. dal Piaz, Anatomy, from October 31; Dr. R. A. Day, Orthodontia Technic (in the Dental Department), from June 30.

Assistants: Dr. W. F. Beerman, Medicine, from July 1, 1912; Ernst Behr, Geology, from December 31; Dr. W. L. Bell, Dermatology, from July 1, 1912.

LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY

September 24.—Andrew Furuseth, President of the International Seamen's Union, "The Present Status of Seamen, and Legislation Sought by Them."

September 26.—Dr. M. E. Jaffa, Professor of Nutrition, and Director of the Pure Food Laboratory of the State Board of Health, "The Consumer and the Pure Food Law."

September 26.—Miss Jessica B. Peixotto, Assistant Professor of Social Economics, "Economic and Social Conditions Underlying the Development of the Playground and Recreation Movement."

September 27.—Albert W. Whitney, Associate Professor of Insurance and Mathematics, "Vital Statistics: Life Insurance."

September 28.—University Meeting: Speakers: Professor David P. Barrows, Dean of the Graduate School, and Mayor George W. Stone of Santa Cruz, President of the California League of Municipalities.

October 1.—Percy V. Long, City Attorney of San Francisco, "The Housing Problem."

October 1.—T. Brailsford Robertson, Associate Professor of Physiological Chemistry, "Some Economic Aspects of Scientific Research" (before an open meeting of Beta Kappa Alpha).

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October 3.—Eustace M. Peixotto, "The Wider Use of the School Plant for Social, Recreative, and Civil Purposes."

October 4.—Professor M. E. Jaffa, "Pure Food."

October 5.—Ira Cross, Assistant Professor of Economics in Stanford University, "Socialism: an Analysis."

October 7.—Dr. Oliveira Lima, Brazilian Minister to Belgium, "The Independence of Latin America and its Evolution in the Nineteenth Century."

October 9.—President Benj. Ide Wheeler, "The Substance of Good Citizenship" (at Newman Hall).

October 10.—Alison Ware, President of the Chico State Normal School, "Social and Recreational Activities of the Rural Schools."

October 11.—University Meeting: Speaker: Dr. Thomas Forsyth Hunt, Dean of the College of Agriculture, Director of the United States Agricultural Experiment Station, and Professor of Agriculture.

October 15.—Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, of Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, "The Social Evil in our Cities."

October 16.—H. J. Brunnier, "Concrete as a Fireproofing Material."

October 17.—Joseph C. Astredo, Probation Officer of San Francisco, "The San Francisco Juvenile Court."

October 17.—Rev. Herbert A. Jump, "The Motion Picture Theatre."

October 18.—Major-General Leonard A. Wood, Chief of Staff of the United States Army. This address to the students was preceded by a review of the University Cadets.

October 18.—Celebration by the California Hindu Students' Association of "Nation Day," in commemoration of the starting of a movement on October 16, 1905, by various provinces of India toward a greater national unity.

October 21.—Dr. Chin-tao Chen, '02, lately Minister of Finance to the Chinese Republic, and Delegate of the Republic to the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, "Are the Chinese prepared for the Republican Form of Government."

October 21.—Dr. H. J. Webber, Professor of Plant Breeding in Cornell University, "Variations and their Artificial Production."

October 22.—C. W. Blanpied, Immigration Secretary of the San Francisco Y. M. C. A., "The Humanitarian Engineer."

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October 22.—Professor H. E. Bolton, "Early Missions of California" (at Newman Hall).

October 22.—Dr. H. J. Webber, "The Use of Hybridization in Plant Breeding."

October 23.—Dr. H. J. Webber, "Types of Breeding: The Improvement of Citrus Fruits, Corn, Cotton, Timothy, etc."

October 24.—William Dallam Armes, Associate Professor of American Literature, "The Anglo-Saxon Period in English Literature."

October 24.—Rev. Herbert A. Jump, of the Oakland First Congregational Church, "The Motion Picture Theatre."

October 25.—George Holmes Howison, Mills Professor of Philosophy, Emeritus, "Nationalism, the True versus the New" (the twenty-fourth annual lecture of the Philosophical Union).

October 25.—E. P. Lewis, Professor of Physics, "Absorption, Fluorescence, and Resonance."

October 25.—University Meeting: Speaker: Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aked, Pastor of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco.

October 28.—W. C. Bray, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, "The Work of Perrin on the Brownian Movement" (before the Chemistry Colloquium).

October 29.—William A. Gates, Secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, "The Treatment of Delinquents in Institutions."

October 31.—George E. Dickie, '06, Superintendent of Recreation Centers in Oakland, "Organization and Management of the Playground and Recreation Association of America."

October 31.—Professor William Dallam Armes, "Chaucer."

November 1.—Elmer E. Hall, Associate Professor of Physics, "Residual Aberrations in Lenses."

November 1.—Dr. Gunther Jacobi, "Social Importance of Cultural Education."

November 5.—The election returns were received in the Harmon Gynasium, through the courtesy of the San Francisco Examiner. As the news came in it was expounded by various members of the faculty. Addresses were given by President Wheeler, Assemblyman C. C. Young, and others.

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November 7.—Robert Newton Lynch, Secretary of the California Development Board, "The Relation of Playground and Recreation Facilities to the Immigrant."

November 8.—University Meeting: Speakers: President Wheeler, J. A. Elston, '97; Milton Schwartz, '01; Ralph P. Merritt, '07; and Herman Phleger, '12.

November 11.—E. P. Lewis, Professor of Physics, "The Nature of the Ions in Flames and Flame Gases."

November 12.—William McDevitt, Socialist Candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, "Socialism: the Case For."

November 12.—Frederick H. Newell, Director of the United State Reclamation Service, "The Work of the Reclamation Service."

November 13.—Hans Zinsser, Professor of Bacteriology in Stanford University, "Recent Studies on the Nature of Bacterial Poisons."

November 14.—Professor Aaron Aaronsohn, Director of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa, Palestine, "Climatic and Agricultural Similarities between California and Palestine."

November 14.—C. M. Kurtz, Engineer with the Southern Pacific, "The Structural Features of the Dumbarton Cut-off."

November 14.—S. S. McClure, Editor of McClure's Magazine, "The Cure for Political Corruption in the United States."

November 14.—James Edward Rogers, Assistant Secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, "Playground and Recreation Developments on the Pacific Coast."

November 15.—Peace Prize Discussion, for the prize offered by the Northern California Peace Society.

November 21.—Miss Ethel Moore, of the Board of Playground Directors of Oakland, "City Plans for Playgrounds and Public Recreation."

November 22.—University Meeting: Speaker: Rev. Charles M. Sheldon.

November 25.—Gilbert N. Lewis, Professor of Physical Chemistry and Dean of the College of Chemistry, "The Problems of Free Energy."

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November 29.—Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Assistant Professor of Social Economics, "Social Economics in Relation to Public Health."

November 29.—University Meeting: Speaker: Rev. Charles N. Sheldon of Topeka, Kansas, author of "In His Steps." (Mr. Sheldon delivered in Berkeley also two lectures on the Edwin T. Earl Foundation of the Pacific Theological Seminary.)

The Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association held its tenth annual conference at the University November 29 and 30.

December 2.—Dr. Edgar L. Hewitt, Director of the School of American Archaeology at Santa Fé, New Mexico, and visiting lecturer of the Archaeological Institute of America, "American Excavations at Quirigua, in Guatamala, in 1912."

December 3.—Israel Abrahams, M.A., of Cambridge University, "The Parables."

December 3.—Clayton Herrington, Federal Prosecutor in San Francisco, "The National Government and the White Slave Traffic."

December 4.—Israel Abrahams, M.A., "Pharisaism."

December 4.—Director Thomas Forsyth Hunt, Dean of the College of Agriculture, "Forestry Work and its Possibilities."

December 5.—Israel Abrahams, M.A., "Forgiveness and Atonement."

December 5.—Edward F. Adams, President of the Commonwealth Club, "Socialism: The Case Against."

December 9.—H. C. Biddle, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, "Trivalent Carbon."

December 11.—Dr. F. B. Sumner, "Protective Changes of Color Pattern among Fishes."

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LECTURES ON PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

(At the University Hospital in San Francisco)

October 8.—H. S. Griswold, "Water Supply and Sewage Disposal."

October 11.—Albert Schneider, Professor of Pharmacognosy, "Quality and Purity of Drugs in their Bearing on the Practice of Medicine."

October 18.—Dr. T. C. McCleave, "Milk Supply in Relation to the Public Health."

November 1.—H. S. Griswold, Instructor in Civil Engineering, "Water Supply and Sewage Disposal."

November 15.—H. S. Griswold, "Sanitary Engineering and Architecture."

November 22.—Dr. Wilbur A. Sawyer, Director of the State Hygienic Laboratory, "Disinfection."

November 25.—Dr. T. C. McCleave, Chairman of the Alameda County Medical Milk Commission, "Milk Supply in Relation to the Public Health."

December 13.—Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Assistant Professor of Social Economics, "Social Economics in Relation to Public Health."

THE HALF HOUR OF MUSIC

(In the Greek Theatre on Sunday Afternoons)

August 25.—Miss Mary Edith Gowans, contralto, assisted by Mrs. R. Roy Cowles, first violin, Mr. Raymond Garthwaite, second violin, Mr. James Hamilton Todd, Jr., viola, Mr. Thomas T. Rieger, 'cello, Mrs. Edwin Garthwaite, piano, and Miss Mildred Porter, piano.

September 1.—The Fifth Regiment Band, Capt. Geo. W. Hollister, bandmaster.

September 8.—Mr. and Mrs. Georg Krüger, pianists.

September 15.—Miss M. Marguerite Hughes, soprano; Miss Aldanita Wolfskill, contralto; Mr. Thomas W. Pearson, basso; Miss Harriet Pasmore and Mr. H. B. Pasmore, accompanists.

September 22.—Miss Imogen G. Peay, pianist, and Miss Lena M. Frazee, contralto.

September 29.—Liza Lehmann's "In a Persian Garden," sung by Mrs. Zilpha Ruggles Jenkins, soprano; Mrs. Ruth Waterman

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Anderson, contralto; Mr. Carl Edwin Anderson, tenor; Mr. Henry L. Perry, bass; and Mr. W. E. Riggs, accompanist (on the pianola).

October 6.—Miss Sarah Unna, pianist.

October 13.—The Zech Symphony Orchestra, Mr. William F. Zech, conductor.

October 20.—Miss Beatrice Clifford, pianist, and Mrs. Cecil Mark, soprano.

October 27.—The Cecilia Choral Club; director, Mr. Percy A. R. Dow; accompanist, Mrs. Robert M. Hughes.

November 3.—The concert announced was postponed to November 10 on account of inclement weather.

November 10.—The concert announced was postponed to December 1 on account of inclement weather.

November 17.—The Hughes Club; Mr. D. P. Hughes, conductor; Mrs. Robert Hughes, accompanist.

November 24.—Mrs. Richard Rees, soprano, Mr. Roscoe Warren Lucy, accompanist.

December 1.—Mrs. Maria Simons, contralto; Mr. Hawley B. Hickman, 'cellist; and Miss Elizabeth Westgate, accompanist.

MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC EVENTS

October 4.—"The Campus," by Walter De Leon, '06, a comic opera given by the Treble Clef Society at the Macdonough Theatre in Oakland.

October 16.—"Sherwood, or Robin Hood and the Three Kings," by the English poet, Alfred Noyes, was given by the English Club in Strawberry Cañon.

October 19.—Two concerts by the United States Marine Band, in the Greek Theatre.

October 26.—Haydn's oratorio, "The Seasons," presented by the Berkeley Oratorio Society, conducted by Paul Steindorff, Choragus of the University of California, in the Harmon Gymnasium.

November 20.—University of California Orchestral Society, fourth annual concert, in Hearst Hall.

December 7.—"La Poudre aux Yeux," given by the Cercle Français at Hearst Hall.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

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THREE CENTURIES OF DON QUIXOTE

RUDOLPH SCHEVILL

Less than a decade ago the three-hundredth anniversary of the first appearance of the Ingenious Knight, Don Quixote of La Mancha (1605), was observed in all Spanish-speaking countries and in most academic centers the world over. In 1915 the same festivities will be repeated, no doubt, on a larger scale and in even more communities, to celebrate the completion of the whimsical Don's history (1615), and to honor the memory of a writer whose fancy has ever since charmed and entertained readers of every nationality.

It was an unprepossessing book which three-hundred years ago saw the light with the name on the title-page of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Indeed, it seemed to have been sent into the world scarce half made up, for it had been but meagerly revised and was carelessly printed throughout, and none could have predicted from its superficial shortcomings the enduring fame of the story within its covers. But new editions soon appeared in Spain and Portugal, in the Low Countries and in Italy, and presently translations into all civilized languages were to make the work of Cervantes the common possesion of mankind.

In the course of three centuries a notable change has taken place in the esteem in which Don Quixote has been held by the general reading public. Today the romance is prized largely because it satisfies the interest which men have always felt in a sympathetic interpretation of human nature, in a comprehensive picture of the life of

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man and of society, whatever the age or the nation depicted may be. Such a view, however, is somewhat different from the one held in the Spanish Peninsula during the early part of the seventeenth century. At that time the vast majority of readers looked on the story of the crack-brained knight chiefly as a *libro de entretenimiento*, a simple yarn or book of adventure to be enjoyed much as were the popular rogue-stories of the day. Such an attitude was logical, since the very nearness of the age portrayed hindered contemporaries from getting the true perspective of all the subtle qualities of the novel which in addition to its humor, have endeared it to readers of recent times. Indeed Cervantes himself appears to have set a higher value on other products of his genius, and though he has recorded his pride in the wide-spread popularity of his masterpiece, he certainly could not have realized that future generations would consider Don Quixote one of the most profound criticisms of his age. But neither the inadequate appreciation of Don Quixote by the author's contemporaries, nor its imperfect recognition by Cervantes himself, is anomalous, if the character of his century be duly reckoned with. So prodigal was the epoch in its production of writers, so many were the creations of real worth, that it became as impossible for the people unerringly to single out writers of lasting fame, as it was for the latter to be sure about their own masterpieces. To this spirit of the so-called "Golden Age" of Spanish literature, an excellent parallel may be found in the Elizabethan Age in England; for there also it would appear that neither the people nor individual writers were generally bent on selecting and preserving for posterity what are today considered the epoch's masterpieces. In this very indifference and lack of discernment, however, lies the evidence that the productions of the age were a precise image of the world as all men saw it. To them an excellent picture of contemporary life and thought was probably not striking enough to be singled out; while to us the consideration of the fidelity with which a writer

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represents his times alone makes an adequate interpretation of his work possible.

The character of the era into which the conception of Don Quixote falls may be more readily gathered from a brief survey of the last half of the sixteenth century. Those are fifty years which for their manifold variety of new interests, for an ever widening horizon of numberless intellectual activities and social changes, are of unsurpassed significance in the history of Spanish civilization. The tide of the Renascence is now at its flood. In most fields of human labor or productivity fresh paths are broken; everywhere a consciousness of new realities is in evidence. Together with the reaction against mediaevalism there had arisen in the popular mind the realization that the manifold gifts of life are to be used and not rejected, that it is not through a repression of self, not through an unreasonable renunciation of the world, that the most profitable forms of existence can be attained unto, but through the free play of all mental and spiritual energies. This intellectual movement which swept away mediaevalism drew its vitality from many changes, such as, during the entire sixteenth century, stirred the Spanish Peninsula to its depths. The passing of the outworn Ptolemaic conception of the earth followed hard on the opening of the era of navigation. The boundless possibilities in the new worlds across the sea, the constant shifting and clashing of Moslem and Christian nations along the shores of the Mediterranean, the continuous stress of momentous historic changes which prevailed while Spain was rising through stirring events to a position of dominating power in the old world, the people's growing religious fervor emanating largely from their belief in Spain's divine mission—all this, coupled with the new movements of speculation and learning, was destined to revolutionize the nation's conception of life.

But a survey of the times in which Cervantes lived and wrote would be incomplete without some portrait of the Spaniard as the great romancer saw him. The important

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rôle which Spain played in the history of Europe during the sixteenth century had left a deep impression upon even the humblest citizen of the Peninsula. At this time the proverbial pride of the Spaniard in his nationality became most pronounced. Ambition to serve the country spread among high and low, and was currently voiced in a phrase which summed up the careers open to all young men, *iglesia, mar ó casa real,* namely, the Church, the sea, or the royal household. The latter is a most comprehensive term, and implies every form of employment at the disposition of the government. Consequently from every walk of life there was an eager rush to the front; while some took up the priesthood and some enlisted in the ranks of soldier and sailor fighting in the numerous foreign parts claimed by Spain, others sought public office or entered the household of king and nobility. In proportion, however, as the government became centralized in the monarch and his ministers, the glamor of court and aristocracy overshadowed Spanish society. The middle class, highly reputed hitherto for their solid Castilian virtues, were showing signs of demoralization, being as they were powerless to resist the absorbing influence of the upper class. This manifested itself in various ways, but chiefly in a tendency among the *bourgeoisie* to ape the manners of high society and assume a title of nobility or *hidalguia.* This was done first of all by prefixing to one's name the much-coveted *Don,* and whoever could successfully impose this unwarranted title on the community, were sure in time to put on all the airs of aristocracy. In his Don Quixote Cervantes has on several occasions stigmatized this sham which foreshadowed the ruin of the middle class. When the rustic Sancho Panza is entrusted with the government of the fictitious island which the prowess of his master, Don Quixote, has won him, he is heralded on his installment in power as Don Sancho Panza. Noting the unusual title before his name, he turns to the Majordomo and asks, "And whom may they call

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Don Sancho Panza?" When he is told that it was none other than himself, he answers with ingenuous irritation, "Let me tell you, my friend, that I possess no *Don* and that there hasn't been any in my whole line of ancestors; my name is plain Sancho Panza, my father was called Sancho and my grandfather also, and all were Panzas without any addition of *Don* or *Doña*. I infer that you have more *Dons* than stones on this island, and it is just possible, that if I last several days in this government, I'll weed out a few of them, for by their number they are no doubt as troublesome as mosquitos." But the assumption of a mere title would, on the long run, have been of small consequence to society. The abiding harm resulted largely from the pretense and display which were necessary in order to enter the ranks of the *hidalgo*. All possible evidences of material well-being were flaunted in public, while showiness of dress and love of a striking exterior became deeply rooted in the manners of the people. The growing mania for pomp frequently attracted the attention of the government and royal pragmatics were launched against the most evident abuses, such as extravagant outlays in household effects, coaches, ornaments, dress and the like. These were generally of little avail. In the meantime unjustifiable taxes gradually hampered trade and closed factories; the persecution of the Moors was ruining the industries of southern Spain, notably agriculture which flourished through their skill, while the economic policy of the ministers under the House of Austria—so short-sighted in all that pertained to the national welfare—saw fit to leave the many natural sources of national wealth unexploited. A portion of the soundest element of the people was forced into idleness, and by 1600 pauperism was beginning to spread rapidly over the peninsula. All ranks of society were destined to be affected; the well-to-do middle class, undermined by the ruin of flourishing industries, has not to this day recovered its important position in the body politic, while the decay of many an aristocratic family dates from Spain's economic

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downfall which followed so hard upon the glory of the sixteenth century. It was not long, therefore, before there arose in Spanish society a type which furnished one of the stock characters in the literature of the times. This was the impoverished nobleman, who at his best retains the vestiges of aristocracy together with some means of subsistence, and is therefore still worthy of esteem; such is the case with Don Quixote. In more exaggerated cases this character is presented at the lowest depths of his fortunes, he is depicted merely as a laughing-stock, as one who holds his own on the fashionable walks by bravely parading a ragged but aristocratic cloak, while he dissimulates the torments of an empty stomach from the outer world by feigning satiety and picking his teeth in public as a convincing evidence of a full meal. In Calderon's *The Justice of Zalamea,* a scene undoubtedly much appreciated by the groundlings presents an impoverished nobleman, Don Mendo, and his hungry valet, Nuño. The following dialogue ensues:

Don Mendo: How is my steed?

Servant: Done for: he can't stir.

Don Mendo: Did you tell the lackey to walk him a bit?

Servant: (I call that nourishing fodder . . . .)

Don Mendo: Nothing rests an animal so much.

Servant: I should prefer some barley.

Don Mendo: Did you tell them not to tie up the hounds?

Servant: They will fare better than the stalls of the butchers.

Don Mendo: No matter; and since it has struck three, I'll put on my gloves and toothpick.

Servant: They might confiscate it for a counterfeit toothpick.

Don Mendo: If anyone imagine within himself that I have not dined on pheasant he lies within himself, and here or anywhere I am prepared to sustain it.

Servant: Hadn't you better sustain me? etc.

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It follows as an immediate corollary from the conditions described, that both among the nobility and those who aped their ways, work was unpopular. In the course of time it was even looked upon in some quarters as degrading. That a *Don* should earn his bread would be asking the impossible, though he might without disgrace spend the hours not consumed in the chase in administering his estate. Don Quixote is represented as spending "his hours of leisure, that is, the greatest part of the year," in reading books of chivalry.

But the average contemporary of Cervantes, regardless of the class to which he belonged, is above all a local or provincial personality. He is narrow as well as conservative, and impervious to anything which strikes him as foreign or un-Spanish. His patriotism is aggressive, and he assumes, often unconsciously, a general superiority over other nations. These traits in the Spaniard's character were largely due to the undisputed authority of the Catholic Church over society, and to the training given by her ministers. For it would have been difficult for the ordinary man to assume an attitude of mind different from that of the priests who controlled him; and when Spain had reached her dominating place among nations, they as interested parties fostered the extravagant view, that her national greatness was in proportion only to the prevalence of the faith, and that the superiority of the Spaniard over other peoples was the result of his strict adhesion to the tenets of the Church. Such teachings had no small share in developing an individuality as peculiarly one-sided as it was strong.

At the turn of the century, when the first part of Don Quixote appeared, the conditions which brought about the steady downward career of the Spanish monarchy during the seventeenth century, were ripe. The vast expanse of the realms united under the single sway of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, proved to be an unwieldy conglomerate of peoples controlled by a system fitter for the government of a province than of an empire. With

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Philip II lies the chief blame of having instituted a petty, impracticable system of directing the welfare of his millions of subjects; a system so intricate and painstaking, that in a short time Spain and the Spanish possessions were in the hands of an army of minor government officials. The development of this dangerous form of bureaucracy presently turned most of the nation into a body of office-holders or office-seekers whose chief function became the consumption of paper and the production of documents in such quantities, that at this distance it is little wonder that the machinery of the government was generally blocked. To what extent this system absorbed the best energies in the peninsula may be gathered from the fact that few writers, great or small, escaped some office; hardly any, at least, appears to have failed to petition for public employment. As for Cervantes himself, it is probably true that none tasted more the bitterness of futile place-hunting.

These various factors, which go to make up the background of the Renascence and more specifically the conditions in the Spanish peninsula during the last half of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries, constituted the environment in which the genius of Cervantes was fostered. But merely existing at that time would scarcely have been sufficient to fill his writing so amply with the spirit of the age. By the buffetings of chance, by what appears to have ever been the scheming of hostile Fortune, his career was checkered beyond that of any of his literary contemporaries; he could with justification say that there was no phase of life with which he was not acquainted, nor any significant event of those stirring times, in which he did not have a share.

When Don Quixote appeared Cervantes was in his fifty-eighth year, and every portion of the large measure of his knowledge derived from the years already behind him is reflected in some part of his work. Consecutive misfortunes had served merely to enlarge his human sympathies and widen the range of his experiences. Far from being

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dwarfed by the constant struggle, his genius grew mellow in it, and neither deferred hopes of a worldly recompense, nor captivity abroad, nor unjust imprisonment at home, nor the ills of old age daunted the buoyancy and cheerfulness of his spirit.

The original conception of Don Quixote probably dates back into the last decade of the sixteenth century, and it is very likely that the first plan of Cervantes was to create nothing more than another *exemplary novel* or short story, the hero of which had lost his wits through excessive reading of romances of chivalry; the ultimate purpose of such a story was to put the hero through a number of ridiculous experiences as a consequence of that madness which makes him turn knight-errant, and so to extinguish the last lingering affection for some of the old threadbare tales of Amadis and his peers. On two formal occasions, in the prologue and on the very last page of the work, Cervantes announces his original purpose, namely "to make abhorred among men the false and foolish books of chivalry." But this was in itself such a suggestive theme, it was such an excellent starting-point for an unlimited number of adventures, that the first scheme was naturally crowded more and more into the background and the story became primarily a picture of every phase of society. There is consequently no justification in looking on Don Quixote as an effort planned throughout merely to cast ridicule on the novels of knight-errantry. The long romance was surely more than was needed to give an already dying form of literature its *coup de grâce*. Long before 1600 the popularity of that kind of fiction had greatly diminished, and only from time to time a new edition of the adventures of one of the Amadises or of his tribe was put on the market by book-sellers in the hope of reviving a once profitable sale. This was the probable starting-point for the famous burlesque of Cervantes. But the many phases and unforeseen happenings of human life, the absurdities of men, all of which are deserving of ridicule, must have suggested themselves at once to the

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novelist, and the transition from his original theme to a mere painting of his times was an easy one. To find quixotic prototypes for his hero he had but to choose from the men about him, from the unpractical elements of society of his own day, with its conventionalities and its antiquated traditions. Thus Don Quixote proved more effective than prohibitory laws or all the opposition of clergy or men of letters which the romance of chivalry had met with during the sixteenth century.

Moreover, owing to the conservative character of culture in the Peninsula, it did not demand a special effort of the imagination on the part of Cervantes to assume for his hero's world the milieu of the books of chivalry and at the same time draw for material on his own environment. Spain had received the novels of chivalry with enthusiasm from the very outset and had clung to them more tenaciously than any other people, merely because the spirit of these books reflected so strongly the genius of the nation, because the Spaniard found his own generous endowment of ardent sentiments, his lofty conception of personal prowess and honor, his love for the single combat, his tendency to pursue mere visions displayed to the highest degree in Amadis and the other ideal knights. But the circumstance which gave Don Quixote its power of ridicule, was the skilful presentation of the hero's absurd effort to revive mediaeval customs at a time when a thorough-going reaction against them was in full swing. The very trend of the age enabled Cervantes to make his capital choice for a comic figure, namely a mediaeval paladin in search of adventures at a time when only the realities of life are to be met with; a knight-errant of the Middle Ages laughed to scorn by the new life of the Renascence. It would, however, be erroneous to suppose that Cervantes condemned *in toto* the books which he parodied with such charm. In his later years, to be sure, he recommended that only some five or six of the whole array be preserved for posterity, but in his youth he no doubt read them all thoroughly and with gusto, if we judge

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merely from the skill with which he parallels their episodes or imitates their style. And there is still a certain attraction in the very naiveté of some of those old romances, when taken in small portions or doses. Certainly the imagination of the authors seems to have known no bounds, and if it were possible to approach them in the spirit of their earliest readers, it would be easy to see how they beguiled the public for two centuries. But while the fifteenth century saw nothing incongruous in the make-up of the romance of chivalry, "with that infinity of Amadises, that countless throng of famous knights, with so many emperors of Trapizond, so many Felixmartes of Hircania, so many palfreys, errant damsels, serpents, dragons, giants and strange adventures, so many kinds of enchantment, battles and encounters, sighing princesses, witty dwarfs, billets-doux and the rest," the new era of the sixteenth century was more ready to see only its grotesque qualities. From the vast frame and cumbrous machinery of that romantic literature, Cervantes chose such elements as were necessary to show the kinship between the knights of the dim past and the protagonist of his story, and then set the latter adrift to seek imaginary adventures in a modern world. Thus, whoever followed the visionary Don Quixote through his mishaps, and his struggles with the unintelligible realities which always prove his undoing, was sure to find the old-fashioned romances quite unreadable.

These long-winded narratives, however, were not the only form of the older national literature which Cervantes used in the fabric of his story of Don Quixote. Of considerable significance in a study of this work are the pastoral novels. Cervantes had turned to the tales of the various Amadises largely to derive material for burlesque, and his opinion of that type of fiction is the same throughout his romance. In the case of the pastoral novel, however, he changed his attitude in a marked way during the twelve or fifteen years which cover the creation of the two parts of Don Quixote. At first he was inclined to use quite

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seriously numerous elements of that type of fiction and we have, in the first part of his work at least, not only tales of shepherds and shepherdesses, but also their active intervention in the main plot. By the time Cervantes reached the end of his book, however, he appears to have become aware that the pastoral novel was no less obsolete and unnatural than the tales of knight-errantry. On his last sickbed Don Quixote plans to turn shepherd when he is convalescent, and the reader is left to infer that the author was scheming to make Don Quixote the center of a story which was to ridicule the pastoral novel as effectively as his ingenious knight had laughed to scorn the romances of chivalry.

These two types of literature, therefore, which were once so generally in vogue in the Peninsula, stood Cervantes in good stead; the one in the broad, humorous element of parody, and the other in the idyllic or pathetic vein of the loves of pseudo-shepherds and shepherdesses. But there was still another type: in many senses the most characteristic as well as the most spontaneous of the sixteenth century with its new life, which had impressed itself deeply on the masterpieces of Cervantes, and that was the rogue-story. The chief personage of this branch of fiction was taken from that large shifting population which was springing up out of Spain's industrial decline and the consequent spread of pauperism. The rogue, or sharper, was thus an unconscious outgrowth of general economic conditions; he was a victim of circumstances—which was generally his own view as it is of every ingenious rascal—and as such could have been found in every caste of society. The minute and life-like pictures which Cervantes draws of people in every walk of life, of aristocracy and bourgeoisie, of villagers, innkeepers, mule-drivers, robbers, soldiers, players, merchants, priests, magistrates and the rest, are all his own, but they are all elements which are interwoven in a way which frequently recalls the popular *novela picaresca*. The difference in treatment, however, could not be greater. In its

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manner of depicting the life of some individual who lives by his wits at the expense of all society, the rogue-story was largely a satire on that society; it inclined toward a bald reflection of the age with all its vices and corruptions, and while it descended on some occasions into gross indecency, it fell on others into long-winded moralizing. Don Quixote is free from both of these blemishes. To see how greatly Cervantes differs from his contemporaries with respect to the former, one need only compare his tone with that of the author of a spurious second part of Don Quixote (by one Fernández de Avellaneda), with that of the great satirist Quevedo, or with some of the rogue-stories themselves, in all of which obscenity abounds. If we consider to how large an extent realism prevails in Don Quixote, the work will appear singularly refined for that age. Cervantes preferably launches himself into comical descriptions of sudden affrays in which everybody on the scene becomes involved, and an ostensibly peaceful gathering is for no apparent cause changed into pandemonium. At such times he surpasses the rogue-story on its own ground. Especially his portrayal of the lower classes, which was the chosen field of the picaresque novel is far superior, because it is freer from exaggeration. As a life-like drawing, in its vigor and carefulness of details, his master-creation, Sancho Panza, has no equal in all Spanish fiction; and though the atmosphere about the rustic squire frequently recalls the spirit of the rogue-story, yet Cervantes always shows his refined taste in the manner in which he keeps above the vein of those tales. This he does by blending their tone with a noble and less realistic spirit imitated from the romances of chivalry; by mingling the cloddishness of Sancho Panza with the lofty traits of the ingenious knight who is ever pure of heart. Thus the visionary master constantly elevates the too realistic servant. This process is to a large degree responsible for the popularity of Don Quixote to this day. For the qualities which enhance the novel and set it above all contemporary books of the imagination are

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precisely that delicate touch, that sympathetic reproduction of every man in his habit as he lived, that fine tolerance for human shortcomings with its subtle and yet kindly satire on society, in a word, that broad sympathy for all mankind which has made the work intelligible to every nation and kept it fresh and entertaining after a lapse of three hundred years.

The main secret, however, of Don Quixote's immediate success was the fact that it ushered in a *genre* in fiction, both new and alive. The drama was entering on its apogee at the time, and Spanish prose in general was acquiring originality and vigor. Verse expression had reached a high level, one which has not been surpassed since. Only popular fiction recorded as yet no definite, enduring achievement. It was greatly in need of some genius to give it lasting vitality in a finer mould. The rogue-story was at its best a sparkling and life-like picture of the people; it was national, but without a touch of idealism. Cervantes remoulded known types of literature into a different form, and by a happy combination created something novel, yet of a popular stamp. Here was a book which, while it ostensibly favored no single class of society, was nevertheless so full of wholesome bourgeois ethics, of high ideals, of purer manners, of sound philosophy and homely common sense, that it could not fail to appeal to high and low alike. Cervantes was both by inclination and the force of circumstances essentially a man of the people. The language in which he writes is theirs; his use of the great fund of popular idioms, of the common treasure-house of proverbs, is inspired by an intimate acquaintance with the general life of the Peninsula. And so he unconsciously betrays his greater sympathy for the masses, while in no way intending an open criticism of the nobility beyond what might be inferred from a comparison between it and the noble, but eccentric Don Quixote who thinks it possible to restore the glorious calling of the knight-errant in a degenerate world, and who consequently sets out to revive altruism in

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an age grown slothful and selfish, "by righting wrongs, setting wickedness at nought, defending maidens, protecting widows and succoring orphans and those in need of his strong arm."

But what of the art of Don Quixote? How are the author's vast experience, his familiarity with the culture of the Peninsula, and the spirit of the age fused? It is difficult at the outset to define the work by any term which will comprehend its infinite variety of tone. In the broadest sense of the word, it is a romance, as I have called it, and yet it is not wholly logical to include under that term a work so largely a tribute to rationalism. So the Germans similarly call it *ein Roman*. But there is something unsatisfactory in a term which can include with equal propriety two works as different as, for instance, Stevenson's *Prince Otto* and *Don Quixote*. The latter is a creation which stands so distinctly by itself, that it will not fit into the current nomenclature for the common types of fiction; it is a composite made of so many various elements, that very few books which have seen the light since could in their whole character be considered analogous. At best, some of the most salient of those elements might be taken as either a prototype or a parallel to certain later expressions of novelistic literature. After all, the creation of a work like Don Quixote is one of those occasional achievements of an unconscious art which makes any precise definition of the commonplace kind gratuitous. Cervantes is an enchanter under whose hand an ever-changing series of impressions and pictures of human life succeed one another without any carefully premeditated framework or any logical pursuit of the original theme. Some of the ideas which are frequently considered the fundamental ones, and which appear to suggest an adequate interpretation of Don Quixote, such as the evident contrast between the real or tangible and the ideal or illusory things of life, manifestly grew only in a casual way as Cervantes proceeded with the thread of his narrative. In the face of an utter absence

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of any carefully contrived plan in the construction of Don Quixote, it is impossible to apply any of the ordinary standards of novel-writing. Cervantes wrote as he pleased; when he was not in the proper mood to continue the adventures of his hero, he laid the work aside. And it is questionable whether after such intervals he consistently re-read what he had written. Here and there contradictions, repetitions, or lapses of memory can be noted.

In the first part of the romance the vagueness of plan is more marked than in the second. Don Quixote and Sancho Panza entirely disappear from the scene now and then, and the spontaneous episodes of their checkered career may be interrupted by an interpolated short story which, to say the least, is out of place. This fault Cervantes admitted in the second part in which he has avoided such interruptions. Here the two protagonists are generally on the scene, if not together, at least alternately, and the reader is drawn from the adventures of the one to those of the other. In this way the entire novel resolves itself into a series of episodes which are perhaps joined in rather a loose way at times, but their perfection individually fully compensates for any fault which may be found with the plan as a whole. In the inexhaustible variety which characterizes the narrative, the preëminent quality of Cervantes may be found, namely his extraordinary gift of invention. We may open Don Quixote almost anywhere, and find that the old master is equally at home in any vein; whether it be a bit of broad humor, or a finer comic touch, or some deeper and more serious mood.

The absence of any artifice in the general plan goes hand in hand with the spontaneity and naturalness of the language. If any criticism of the style of Cervantes can be made, it is that of negligence and lack of polish. The ease with which he wrote frequently hindered him from thinking twice about the turn of a phrase; the abundance of his vocabulary together with his great imagination, while it

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made elegance impossible throughout, has on the other hand imparted to his language a lasting freshness and vigor.

A great many traits which were not in the original conception of the character of Don Quixote developed quite logically during the twelve to fifteen years in which he lived in his creator's fancy. At the outset the presentation of the resourceful knight as a man mad only on the subject of knight-errantry, but generally sane and sound when broached on any other topic, was not extensively embroidered, and "the fantastic hidalgo of the rueful countenance" is largely a caricature. It is the same with Sancho, who on first starting out to seek adventures, is merely a peasant and swineherd, much bewildered at seeing himself taken out of his realistic world and suddenly plunged into an imaginary life of romance, to save abducted damsels, fight giants or whole armies, and house with an empty stomach in enchanted castles. But in living with these creations, Cervantes moulded them into something far more comprehensive. There was no reason why Don Quixote, mad though he was in everything that concerned his favorite books of chivalry, should not become just as interesting for his sanity in all other matters. This is especially the case in the second part of the novel. In the first his hallucinations about the calling of a knight-errant constitute the idea to which is given the most prominence, and the broader humor and the more farcical episodes are in accordance with such an attitude. In the second part, however, his madness is, if not always secondary to the sober and noble traits in his character, at least so greatly refined, as to leave ample room for a display of the latter. The clod Sancho also takes on a more presentable appearance, so that his master is astonished at his greater discretion and polish. "Every day," says the knight to his squire, "you are growing less doltish and more discreet, Sancho"; to which the latter replies, "Something of the good sense of your grace is bound to stick to me; lands which of themselves are sterile

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and dry, will with manuring and cultivation come to yield good fruit." Indeed the highest gifts of Cervantes were used in drawing the character of Sancho Panza who manifestly in the course of time became his favorite creation. He is certainly the most lifelike and realistic personage in the book and is presented in an inexhaustible variety of episodes which show his character from every side, serious as well as comic. At first he appears as an incorrigibly prosaic fellow who is forever undoing the fine illusions of his master. But after becoming a much-traveled man and acquiring a large fund of experience out of the life of adventure with his master, the squire has enough opportunities to develope those traits which make him such a perfect representative of the sane citizen, of homely current wisdom, of all that is commonplace, perhaps, but also of that which is unartificial, and which forms the leaven of a society destined to endure. Sancho is always true to himself, and even at the zenith of his career as governor of his so-called island, he lives up to every one of the common-sense principles which he advocated in his humblest condition.

But in what consists the humor of Don Quixote? It consists for the most part in unforseen situations which arise from the violent contrasts and incongruities inherent in the main theme, a mediaeval knight who sets out to seek adventures in an unromantic modern world. Thus we see in their turn the ideal offset by the real, the poetic by the prosaic, the sane by the absurd, and over the whole hovers the unpractical spirit of the dreamer who tries in vain to reconcile them. The very first contrast lies between the hero's lofty purpose to stem the tide of wickedness and the meagreness of his resources which are only a miserable lance, the fragment of a helmet, and rusty, poorly patched armor. Another incongruity lies in the scene of action in which those noble aims are to be realized, namely the vast desert-plain of the Mancha. Into this desolate waste the protagonist rides out when the boiling July sun makes the

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highways untenable, and the wanderer who ventures forth finds shelter only at great intervals in some inn, or under an occasional tree. Finally there is the contrast upon which is based the majority of the humorous situations and episodes, that of the two inseparable protagonists, the knight and his squire. The humor of their joint-situation generally lies in the different manner in which each comments on the result of the master's rashness. While the clod gives vent to his disappointment or irritation in a mild "I told you so," the visionary quickly rises above all his reverses and defies the very teachings of experience. This equanimity with which Don Quixote bears all the ills that befall him, is what Sancho cannot comprehend. He is constantly torn by conflicting feelings; on the one hand, by his firm trust in his master's goodness out of which he imagines some benefits may be reaped, and, on the other, by his equally firm conviction that his master is a consummate madman and may at the very next adventure prove his squire's irreparable ruin. Owing to Don Quixote's repeated promises to win both riches and authority for him, the hopes of realizing such advancement keep Sancho resolutely at the knight's side. Though doubts and scruples assail him at times about the condition of his master's mental equipment, he does not hesitate to apostrophize him as "the cream, the skimming and the flower of knight-errantry," nor to praise his valor extravagantly in the presence of others. At the ebb-tide of his confidence in the outcome of his idle wandering, when knight and squire are lost in the wilds of the Sierra Morena, they stumble on a wallet filled with some gold pieces. These Don Quixote generously hands over to Sancho, and so the latter's service becomes for a time, at least, something better than an unprofitable stretch of fasting varied only by a series of drubbings. But the spirit of such an episode serves especially to bring out the contrast between master and servant, between the unselfish nature of the old-fashioned hidalgo, who seeks only rewards of a spiritual nature in return for

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his sacrifices, and that of his modern unromantic squire who prefers any palpable material profit, whether it be for his pocket or his belly.

In broader farce Cervantes had, as I have said, the rogue-story as a forerunner. This vein is at times hard to appreciate fully today, but was thoroughly enjoyed in the sixteenth century when repulsive details or things physically objectionable were freely tolerated. But it is only fair to add that Cervantes is never Rabelaisian, and that the two or three episodes to which over-sensitiveness might takes exception must have seemed mild to the dulled sensibilities of his contemporaries. Such episodes may be found chiefly in the first part and deal with tavern brawls, frays, or contests upon the highways and other battles which result in the knocking of teeth down the throat, bloody noses and broken heads. On one occasion Don Quixote comes out of the combat with the army of the Emperor Alifanfaron of Trapobana (a mistaken flock of sheep) badly used and asks his squire to see how many teeth he has lost on the side where he feels the pain most. Sancho puts his fingers into his master's mouth and reports that there are left two and a half on the lower gum, but that on the upper neither a whole nor half a molar could be detected. "Alas," replies the knight, "I had rather lost an arm, for a mouth without teeth is like a mill without a grinding stone—but to this are we subject who follow the strenuous order of knighthood." More striking are perhaps the transitions from the sublime to the ridiculous, the best example of which is the series of episodes occurring in the inn at the close of the first part. Here eminently sane proceedings—notably an eloquent discourse by Don Quixote on the relative merits of arms and letters, a passage of singular literary and stylistic charm—are closely followed by a mad brawl and pitched battle in which guests, hosts, servants, and police-officers take part, and which again convinces Don Quixote that he is in an enchanted castle transformed by magic into the discord of the battlefield of Agramante. The whole

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confusion is due merely to the absurd persistence of some who, wishing to encourage Don Quixote in his madness, declare the basin which he had taken from a barber upon the highway to be Mambrino's helmet, and a certain pack-saddle "captured" by Sancho from that same barber's ass to be a fine riding-saddle.

Finer humor and wit, however, must be sought in the various dialogues, notably those carried on between knight and squire; herein Cervantes is the unrivalled master. It is in the second part that this type of humor, together with subtlety in character-drawing, is developed to its highest point. On every available occasion Don Quixote and Sancho are shown in some entertaining conversation, and every event is followed by characteristic comment. Sancho, indeed, acquires the habit of talking so much, of mingling such excellent good sense with arrant nonsense, and scattering through the whole proverbs, both relevant and irrelevant, in such numbers, that his master is frequently irritated, and attempts to discourage his wordiness. "By heavens," he says on one occasion, "stop your harangue, for I feel sure that if you are allowed to continue the chaff which you bring up at every moment, you wont have time to eat or sleep, for you'll consume it all in talking." Upon other occasions, however, when the clod says some very wise things, his master does not hesitate to praise him. "I tell you, Sancho, if your tact were as fine as your disposition is good, you might take up a pulpit, and go about the world preaching neat sermons." "He who lives in ease and plenty can do fine preaching," replies Sancho, who has just had a square meal, "and I don't know any other theology." And a little later the squire has an opportunity to retort when he overhears a very sane discourse by his master on the character of women, and how a man is to go about it to choose a fitting wife. "The deuce take you for a knight-errant," says Sancho under his breath; "to think that you should know so much. I was thinking that this master of mine could know only what concerned his knight-

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errantries; but there isn't a subject which he doesn't touch or where he doesn't put in his oar. He might take up ten pulpits and go preaching." "What are you murmuring, Sancho?" asks the knight. "Oh, nothing," answers Sancho, "only I was thinking to myself, I wish I had heard what your grace has just said before I married, then perhaps I might now be saying, 'the unyoked ox can lick himself at his ease.'" "Is your wife Theresa as bad as that, Sancho?" says Don Quixote. "No, she isn't very bad," answers Sancho, "and she isn't very good, at least not as good as I should like." And on the eve of being made governor of his long-sought island he is twitted by his benefactress, the Duchess, about the circumstance that he who serves a mad master willingly must be mad himself, and therefore unfit to govern. "I know what your grace says is true," replies the squire, "and if I were sane, I should have left my master long ago; but this was my fate, this was my bad luck; I can't help it, I must follow him. We're from the same village, I've eaten his bread, I'm fond of him, I'm grateful, he gave me some ass-colts, and above all I'm faithful. So it's quite impossible anything should separate us except the pick-axe and shovel. And if your Highness does not like to give me the government you promised, God made me without it and maybe your not giving it to me will be all the better for my own conscience, for fool though I am, I know the proverb, 'to her own harm the ant grew wings,' and it may be that Sancho the squire will get to heaven sooner than Sancho the Governor. And when we quit this world and are put under ground, the prince travels by as narrow a path as the journeyman, and the Pope's body does not take up more feet of earth than the sacristan's, for all that the one is higher than the other; for when we go to our graves, we all pack ourselves up and make ourselves small—and then good-night to us; and I say once more, if your ladyship does not like to give me the island because I'm a fool, like a wise man I will take care to give myself no trouble about it."

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There is a kind of literary humor which Cervantes employs from time to time to complete the character-drawing of Don Quixote, and which consists in a parody on the old-fashioned pronunciation and unnatural style of the romances of chivalry. When the good knight is seized by one of his mad freaks of imitating the adventures which have unbalanced his mind, he is generally not contented with merely assuming the role of his heroes; he falls involuntarily into their obsolete verbiage. In this way Cervantes frequently makes the setting of an episode complete and adds a most entertaining touch to the caricature. This element is of course wholly Spanish, and can be enjoyed only in the original.

The perennial charm, however, of the humor in Cervantes lies in its ever buoyant tone and its lack of malice. The sympathetic presentation of human shortcomings in Don Quixote leads us to infer that in the great romancer's opinion the conditions of life are generally ridiculous rather than intolerable, that men are stupid and misguided rather than wicked, while the fantastic construction which the visionary knight lays upon this unintelligible world suggests the importance of becoming squarely acquainted with it. But an abiding reconciliation with the irremediable ills which come to all men can be found only in an ever cheerful attitude toward life, and in the manifold and mysterious resources which lie in human character itself. Cervantes had struggled like the great majority for goals which he never reached, and concluded that the very illusions which beset all men may at whiles compensate them for never attaining the heart's desire. In this serene attitude he by no means condones abuses or wrongs, but regards them rather as a part of the imperfect order of things which even the sound and sane cannot always better, but which a visionary may surmount by the very power of his illusions.

Don Quixote could create no school of fiction. Works of such caliber are imitated only in isolated traits; the full meaning of the romance was comprehended only after a

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long lapse of time. It is therefore possible to say that on the subsequent development of the novel in Spain the influence of Don Quixote as a type was small. The work is a great isolated creation which, though absorbing manifold influences, could not in a commensurate way affect the future of the novel. It could not be copied like an art which produces followers chiefly because it is constituted on definable principles. But Don Quixote will ever remain a fresh and vigorous prototype for realism at its best.

Cervantes had the satisfaction, at least, of seeing his work properly prized, if that could be to him a fitting compensation in his old age and in the midst of his poverty. He says of it, "It is thumbed and read and got by heart by people of all sorts; children turn its leaves, young people read it, the grown-up understand and the old folks praise it." In the license prefixed to the second part of Don Quixote the censor tells us in a chatty way how one day in the presence of foreign diplomats he mentioned the story of the ingenious knight which he happened to be reading at the time; and he continues: "Scarcely had they heard the name of Miguel de Cervantes, when they began to speak of him with great praise, laying stress upon the high esteem enjoyed by his works not only in France but also in the neighboring countries; and they mentioned the Galatea which one of the gentlemen knew almost by heart, the Exemplary Novels and the first part of Don Quixote. They were so full of praises that I offered to take them to see the author of these works, which they agreed to do with a thousand manifestations of great eagerness. They questioned me in detail concerning his age, his profession, his quality and quantity, and I was obliged to admit that he was old, that he was a soldier by profession, a gentleman (in quality) and, as regards quantity, that he was poor. To this one replied quite seriously in the following words: "To think that Spain does not keep such a man in abundance out of the public treasury!" And another gentleman added the following subtle thought: "If necessity forces

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him to write, pray God that he may never have abundance, in order that, by means of his works, though he himself remain in poverty, he may enrich the whole world." And if we remember that all this is still essentially true today of this book begun by a man on the threshold of old age, and completed when he was well nigh seventy; if we recall that no reverses or privations ever broke that cheerful spirit, or embittered the mood which dictated the most captivating of humorous creations in fiction, we cannot but delight in the common heritage handed down to people of every language, and add to others our tribute of appreciation of Don Quixote.

On his death-bed Cervantes was yet able to pen that most feeling of dedications to his kindly patron, the Count of Lemos, which was prefixed to his posthumous work, Persiles and Sigismunda; that and the Prologue to the reader have become famous, and I will give them as a fitting close to this article. Cervantes had still many projects, many unfinished works on his table, but the hand of death was beckoning, and on April nineteenth, sixteen hundred and sixteen, the month of Shakespeare's death, he penned the following words: "I would that those ancient rimes, much liked once upon a time, and which begin 'With my foot already in the stirrup,' were not now so apropos, for with these very words must I begin and say: 'With my foot already in the stirrup, in the agony of death, Noble Lord, I address to you these lines.' Yesterday I received extreme unction and today I pen this dedication to you: the time is brief, my agony increases, hope diminishes, and yet withal I protract my life beyond my desire to live; for I would fain have it extended until I have greeted you and welcomed you back to Spain. . . . . Many of my works still remain to be completed." And in the Prologue to the reader he resumes his festive vein and writes: "It happened one day recently, while riding to the capital with two friends, that I heard someone coming up behind, apparently in great haste to overtake us, for he was shouting and urg-

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ing us not to give our beasts the spur. So we waited and presently a student came up arrayed in gray, with leggings, round shoes, sword, and a starched collar which he kept in place with difficulty. When he had come abreast with us, he said, 'Your graces are evidently in quest of some office or sinecure in Madrid to judge from your haste, and though my ass is a prize-winner when it comes to speed you get ahead of me.' To which one of my friends replied: 'The hack of my friend, Miguel de Cervantes, is to blame, it has such a long pace.' No sooner had the student heard the name of Cervantes, that he dismounted, and dropping his saddle-pad on one side and his valise on the other, he rushed at me, seized my left hand and said: 'To be sure, this is the sound cripple, the widely-famous, the joyful writer, the delight of the muses.' Whereupon I, out of courtesy and as an answer to his extravagant praises, put my arms around his neck, completely ruining his collar in the process, and said: 'That is the error which many make, for I am none of the things you call me; go back for your ass and let us proceed together the rest of the way.' So we traveled on our way, the conversation turning on my infirmity, and the good student destroyed my illusions by saying, 'You've got the dropsy, and all the water of the sea wouldn't cure you, no matter how fresh you got it. Drink less, Señor Cervantes, and eat more.' 'So others have told me,' I replied, 'but I am as fond of drinking as if I had been born only for that; my life is coming to a close, and to judge by the beat of my pulse, it will cease by next Sunday, at the latest. So you have run across me in the nick of time, for I have not many hours left to express to you my appreciation of your good will.' Here we reached the city and entered by different ways. . . . . I again embraced him, and he left me with a fine occasion for writing of pleasant things; but all times are not the same; perhaps someday I may take up the old thread: forewell jests, farewell fancies, farewell merry friends, for I am dying and desire to see you presently contented and happy in the next life."

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SOME DEVELOPMENTS OF THE AMERICAN STAGE DURING THE PAST FIFTY YEARS

WILLIAM H. CRANE*

In acknowledging your invitation to appear this afternoon, I wish to say at the outset that I hold no brief for the drama of the past, present, or future. Neither do I intend to discuss the morals of the stage nor the problems of plays that have dealt with questions of social and political interest. It seems to me that this is a matter for analytical discussion and the subject has been treated so fully by men of especial qualifications for the task that it would be a waste of your time to go further with these problems.

If you will indulge me in the premise, I want to tell you of our stage and its development as I have viewed it from a crude beginning through fifty years of actual experience with its early undertakings and watched it grow to its present status as a part of the social fabric that envelopes our daily lives. My experiences have been almost entirely of the practical sort and I have been too busy to indulge in theorizing.

One of the first things that all actors hear when they go into this profession is that the stage is on the decline. Dryden insisted this was so when he wrote comedies after the Restoration. Prior to that it had declined, but the reason was political rather than dramatic. It would seem,

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if we accept the repetition of this trite phrase, the best thing the stage in England and America has been able to do is to keep up its consistent decline. Personally I confess that before I had the remotest idea what it all meant, the expression sounded very learned and very impressive to me. At the end of fifty years of effort as a player of plays and a producer of comedies in which the public has maintained a most encouraging interest, I now find this once high-sounding term an enigma. To state it tersely, I do not know what it is all about.

Let us glance back through the record and see how the stage has declined. It is generally established that the first American comedy to be produced by a professional company in this country was "The Contrast," written by Royall Tyler and presented not over 125 years ago. Tyler afterwards became the Chief Justice of Vermont. His protagonist in "The Contrast" was Jonathan, the parent type of a long line of dramatic Yankees.

Jonathan was indigenous to the soil of New England. He was prophetic, for it was the first small voice to determine that if our drama was to live it must reflect the growing conditions of this country and present the contrasting types that make up the people of a nation. The classics are of the world and they belong to the world. They do not conflict with the point that is here to be made. You cannot place Greek sculpture in any geographical limitations nor do Moliere and Shakespeare belong to France and England. But plays reflective of American life are American, and they belong to America. These are the plays I have dealt with most of my life and are the ones which we have under consideration this afternoon. You will find in a study of them that a great many of the successes of the stage in our country in the century following the first appearance of "The Contrast" have been plays in which American character has been faithfully developed and realistically depicted.

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To illustrate the thought, we can step forward a bit here and note a few of the distinct character portrayals of the soil which make it clear. Wignell, in "The Contrast," gave us the original Jonathan; the elder Hackett, Col. Nimrod Wildfire; Chanfrau, Kit, in "The Arkansas Traveler," and Mose in "A Glance At New York"; Jefferson, Rip Van Winkle; Wm. J. Florence, Hon. Bardwell Sloat in "The Mighty Dollar"; Frank Mayo, Davy Crockett of that name; John T. Raymond, Mulberry Sellers in "The Gilded Age"; Robson and Crane, as Bertie the Lamb and Bold Nick Van Alstyne in "The Henrietta"; Denman Thompson, Joshua Witcomb in "The Old Homestead"; Sol Smith Russell, as Noah Vale in "A Poor Relation," and may I add to the record, without fear of indulging in a personality, "The Senator" and David Harum by one who has at best striven to be true to our American ideals?

These characters were made to live so truthfully that it requires but a small stretch of the imagination to place them in the category of historical personages. And yet when all is said and done, they were but people of everyday life touched by the appealing note of human interest which makes the whole world kin. One can well ask: Why were they interesting? The immediate answer is: They awoke an understandable sympathy because they possessed the note of inherent truth. Those who gave them position in the dream-galleries of our recollections made them live by coming up to them with sincerity and honesty as the motive forces which harmonize with the truth.

Your chairman has been so kind as to indicate that I might possess some intimate knowledge of the progressions through which our stage has passed. Harking back to that vague decline of the drama, picture if you can the changes in process; the alterations that invention has made in the physical condition of the stage; the improvement in the artifices such as make-up; in fact, a thousand minor but absolutely essential details that enter into an actor's study

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and portrayal of a given character or a line of parts.

What are today looked upon as the mere conveniences of the craft and are to be found everywhere and anywhere the play is in vogue were at the time I made my debut undreamed of luxuries.

The first part I appeared in professionally—in 1863—was that of the Notary in the opera of "The Child of the Regiment." To represent a Notary of that period I was supplied with a black domino (at least three inches too long for me), a strip of white muslin that wound twice about the neck and was tied in a bow-knot in front; and what was then known as a white bag or court wig (two sizes too large). The mere mention of the event recalls to mind the most terrifying moments of my existence. This particular Notary was so intensely nervous that although he had studied the one speech of the character for nearly thirty-six consecutive hours, when the time came to go on the stage he put the book between the folds of the paper he was supposed to read during the scene because he mistrusted his untried memory. Then resulted a series of singular disasters. I walked on, barely able to distinguish the goal of my artistic ardor, namely the table at which I was to sit. I had scarcely arrived in full view of the audience before I tripped on the ample front of the domino, and in pitching forward dislodged my wig so that it slipped down and covered my eyes. Frantically struggling to disentangle myself from the wig and domino, I managed to reach the table, but the journey had not added to my composure. As I took my seat and opened my legal documents, the book of the play slipped through the treacherous folds and fell to the floor, advertising immediately to the audience that I was not "an old and experienced artist of the stage." There is only the faintest glimmer of a recollection how I ever managed to get through that ordeal, or how I got off but I do know that the roars of laughter, for which I have struggled many a time since, were spontaneously extended to me then, without a seeming effort.

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This absolutely truthful description of the beginning of a life's struggle will give you a splendid idea of the tools employed in our rudimentary lessons in stage craft. The environment in which it was located was likewise typical of the period. The picture was a supposed palace of the Marchioness de Berkenfeldt in the suburbs of Paris. For the pictorial and historical correct reproduction of this gorgeous domicile of Bourbon luxury, we played before a pair of flats—technically known as a center door, fancy chamber—while two badly painted wings banked in the scene at either side of the stage and two wilted borders above represented the ceiling. These were sufficient to convey without the slightest doubt the magnificent atmosphere in which our story moved.

It was all brilliantly illuminated by one row of fifteen or twenty exceedingly timid gas jets for the footlights, and a row of about half that number of equally reticent gas jets overhead. Our makeup box was as limited in its contents as our stage was in its "atmosphere." The principal materials we had to depend upon in making up our faces to stand the glare of those shy gas jets were ball-chalk, as it was then called—which we applied with a soft cloth; and papers of Chinese vermillion, which was picked up and applied to the face on the soft end of a rabbit or hare's foot; while the lines to indicate age, or worry or physical suffering were painted in by a camel's hair brush with India ink. It was work to get these on, but it was often torture to get them off after they had dried and taken hold of the soft skin of the face. The first grease paint, as I recollect it, came years afterwards, and was originally supplied to the players by D. J. McGinness, an old-time comedian who had been connected with the famous Boston Theater. Peep into the modern dressing room of a prima donna or a feminine star of this era of wonderful progress and what a contrast is offered to this meagre kit, which once did service for the great people of our early stage. In grease paints alone, the player can buy every shade you

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could ask for or expect to find upon the palette of a master in color, and there is every little device and lotion to facilitate each possible line and answer every requirement of the artist. He merely has to employ his face as a canvas upon which he can almost reproduce any picture he desires.

In trying to show you the condition of the stage at the time of my beginning and bringing the matter up to the present, it just occurs to me it must inevitably impress you that I am revealing—in part—the story of my past life.

The first ten or twelve years of my stage experiences were devoted to light opera, for which I was engaged to sing baritone roles. During that early period I always had a leaning towards the dramatic, and my interests and observations ran to that form of stage entertainment. One of the influences which moved me greatly was to hear the remarkable readings of James E. Murdock, the unquestioned master of elocution of the time. Murdock frequently gave Sunday night recitals which he devoted largely to the reading of passages from the Bible, and he put into these an understanding and eloquence of expression which have endured in memory through all the intervening years. One thing that he did incomparably was the recital of the Lord's Prayer. Those who were privileged to sit within the charm of his elocution can never forget the wonderful note of reverence and the masterful simplicity which he put into this familiar prayer. It impressed me as I had never been impressed before.

The mention of Murdock recalls his contemporaries. They seem to be the knights of a period whose characterizations are silhouetted against the background of the past as clearly as if it were but yesterday. In this list which Murdock can be mentioned Edwin Forrest, Barry Sullivan, Edwin Adams, John McCullough, Mrs. D. P. Bowers, Matilda Heron and the great Ristori. I regard Booth, Barrett, and Modjeska as a succeeding line, and feel that their performances are recent enough to be known to nearly all of

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you. I do not include Dion Boucicault in this list because I think he was a man of so many parts—actor, author, inventor, producer—that his place is distinctive enough to stand apart.

But of those giants of their day it has been a source of regret to hear occasionally a younger player of this generation give expression to the sentiment that were they alive and pursuing the methods which they did, they would be laughed from the stage.

A consideration of the viewpoint of the times, the conditions under which they labored, and the hampering limitations of the art must be weighed in passing judgment. Indeed they must have been men of brilliant attainments or they would not have left behind the impressions they did. We have progressed wonderfully in all the arts; things have changed in every respect, and following a great law of the universe we have gone forward, but though their methods were not the methods of today, there can be no doubt as to the power of their portrayals or their intellectual conceptions and we must not arrogate to ourselves because we do things differently a monopoly of the intelligence of the ages.

At the present time you seldom hear mentioned the names which I have just spoken, but nevertheless these artists made their mark and left it upon the record in what may be called one of the most difficult and at the same time the most ephemeral of the arts.

You have seen how we reflected splendor in light opera. Theaters given to dramatic performances were in much the same condition. The scenic equipment was limited to flats and wings; that is the back and the sides of the stage; for exteriors there was always a rocky mountain pass, a dark wood, and a light landscape; flats did service for interiors; these were classified as a center door, chamber sets, throne rooms of palaces, kitchen sets, and possibly a prison scene or interior of some such sombre outline rounded out the adequate supply. A house was generally equipped with a

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large "prop" room which was an amazing institution. A casual inspection would remind you more of the Cave of the Forty Thieves than anything servicable. The furniture equipment boasted these sets: modern, ancient, Gothic, throne chairs for tragedies, banquet tables, and kitchen tables and chairs.

I can see now one of those banquet sets bountifully supplied with papier mache fruits and viands hauled forth from that cavernous "prop" room. About these were grouped golden flagons which often showed their pasteboard origin; and foaming beakers and goblets, to clink in revelry, which could never clink. These were the appurtenances with which the players of that day had to establish the illusion of realism. How different today!

All of this was in the early '70s. By the end of that decade improvements were noticeable in all directions. The succeeding ten years outlined the possibilities that in this day have been carried to such a point that sometimes I think we overdo it and let so-called realism run rampant at the expense of ideals which are the human note at the foundation of all good drama.

Dion Boucicault is given the credit for an invention which was to revolutionize one phase of play producing. It is known technically as the box scene. By doing away with the old style wings and running the flats down either side of the stage and joining these to the supported flats in the back scene builders were able to reproduce the three walls of a given room and make it appear real. Your imagination furnishes the fourth wall—which is really the proscenium opening of the stage.

Where Boucicault began another great man of the American theater followed with some daring departures for his day. This was Mr. Augustin Daly. He saw that the scene would hold and to add further to the illusion of realism he put in solid doors that banged when they were shut hurriedly and he made his windows of real wooden frames and glass panes. Then he began to utilize real furniture.

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At first this was borrowed from friendly dealers, but later as the demands warranted and long runs in the principal cities became possible, the furniture was built to order for a given scene and carried by the companies.

The stage had climbed out of the rut of papier mache gold and unclinkable goblets. Ideas expanded and today there is an architectural value to a scene. When Sir Henry Irving began to give the English stage his artistic productions, he depended greatly upon the historical accuracy of the picture to heighten the effect. He had the services of such authorities as the late Sir Alma Tadema to point the way for him. And so we have grown and expanded. Today we not only build a scene and stamp it with the note of individuality that you find in a well constructed residence, but we consult higher authorities and go into the matter so deeply as to consider tone harmonics and have our ladies wear gowns which blend with the color scheme of the whole. This psychology of color is carried even to the extreme of making the lights reflective of the moods and development of the drama, so that a scene often possesses an occult significance that you feel without realizing that a studied and carefully worked out plan of lighting has contributed this subtle influence.

When we think of how far realism can be carried, I might mention the wizard producer of the day whom California sent across the mountains to say his word in the progress of the stage. It is hardly necessary to pronounce the name of David Belasco. He insists that every contributory effect shall be provided, and when he produced "Du Barry" went so far as to buy the original furniture once used by that lady and bring it over from France to be used in the stage pictures of the atmosphere in which the story moved.

Electricity has figured wonderfully in the development of stage effects. It would require too much of your time to outline even vaguely its reach and its aid. However, you know that we get almost any effect we desire by use of the

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innumerable electrical devices that are found in a modern theater. Picture in your mind's eye any one of the many moonlit scenes you may see in modern musical comedy productions, and then let your thoughts run back to that dreary little cheese-box with its silvered surface that once did service for all moons in all conditions of the poetic drama.

It was not so long ago that an audience might see a pair of lovers basking in the light of a silvery moon; but were you behind the scene you would see a tired fellow in shirt-sleeves and overalls monotonously turning a reel on which were strips of silvered paper that flitted by slits cut in the canvas water and gave off the shimmer which sent awakening thrills to the lovers who were possibly holding hands in the shadows "out in front."

In the next act you would be likely, if a storm effect was sought, to encounter this same working man vigorously shaking thunder out of a long strip of sheet-iron. Such were the things in vogue when I came to California for the first time in my life. It was in 1875 and my initial appearance was at the old Bush Street Theater, San Francisco. At that time John McCullough was the manager of the old California Theater. What a company he had! A few names from that roster will suffice to prove its worth, for here I met Barton Hill, Thomas W. Keene, W. A. Mestayer, Harry Edwardes, Walter Lehman, dear old Mrs. Judah, and Mrs. Saunders. McCullough gave them "Virginius," which was his masterpiece. I remember our company also did a play called "Ultimo," which Bartley Campbell, a well-known dramatist of the time, adapted from the German. Augustin Daly adapted the same story and produced it in New York under the title of "The Big Bonanza." Campbell made his action take place in San Francisco, and it created a sensation. We ran it for four weeks, a thing that was undreamed of in those days.

Speaking of the old California Theater, I wish to say that it holds a place in my memory for a personal reason.

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It was on the stage of that playhouse that we made the first revival of Shakespeare's "The Comedy of Errors" with Stuart Robson and myself in the roles of the two Dromios. The warmth of the reception and the cordiality extended to us then, lent the needed encouragement and marked the beginning of the achievements that are credited to that partnership, extending over the succeeding ten years.

I have not touched upon the progress of acting heretofore, because it seems to me this is so big a subject that it cannot be covered except in a general sense. When my experience upon the stage first began, the leading man with the biggest voice was sometimes regarded as the best actor. Many a one lost all use of his vocal chords by trying to raise the roof of the theatre with his voice.

An actor must possess a varied equipment if he is to succeed, but as to individual portrayals and conceptions of character I hesitate to speak. I think it safe to say, however, that in acting we have progressed just as much as we have in the in the other elements which go to make up the whole of our drama today. But a characterization is such an intimate and individual task that it is sometimes difficult to say exactly what makes it distinctive, even when the actor succeeds.

When we use the word acting, it sounds very simple. But I could not hope to convey the unlimited field this little word opens up. You have been so kind and considerate that I feel certain you grasp my meaning. It is frequently the case that a dramatic artist who leaves an enduring impression upon his generation really is incapable of analyzing the methods by which he accomplished that result.

I must confess that I became a comedian by accident. The young man playing the comedy business in the company I was singing with was taken suddenly ill. The management was in despair. There was no one to play the part. I being at this time only an apprentice was not considered, but I had watched and listened to the comedian

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until I was thoroughly familiar with every line, movement and gesture of the part he was playing. I ventured timidly to suggest to the manager's wife that I might get through with it. When she mentioned my proposal to her husband he looked at her pityingly and said: "Do you want the boy killed?" That was my first encouragement, but I played the part—I wasn't killed. The unfortunate young comedian died, and I have been playing comedy parts ever since.

And now I would like to depart from the anecdotal and reminiscent spirit of my talk to address a few words of observation to the student-body in particular. Reluctant as I am so to express it, the fact has often been brought home to me that a great many young men and women of today turn to the stage more as a means of gratifying their vanity than from a sincere desire to excel in dramatic work.

All young men or women contemplating a stage career should possess a good appearance, good manners, education, and a fine voice. But these are not the only requisites. They should posses what I am pleased to call dramatic instinct—an adaptability for depicting the various human emotions. There is another quality which is vital. It is often spoken of as magnetism. The late Joseph Jefferson at a dramatic school commencement was asked by one of the students: "What is magnetism, as applied to an actor?" He replied: "I do not know. One may have it and not know it. You cannot acquire it, but if you have it, you can cultivate it, and it is the most valuable asset that any actor or actress can possibly possess."

College men, and particularly young men, are considering the theater much more seriously than they did a few years back. It is a large field, but if they expect to achieve success it can only be gained by the same persistent endeavor and the same respect for their calling that you would bring into play in any walk of life you consider when you turn from your studies to encounter the big world on your own resources.

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Particularly is this true as regards the rewards of authorship. To those who might consider the stage as an outlet for literary expression, I would say after these years of experience in producing plays, that first of all you should know the stage. Always bear in mind that people go to see a play. In becoming familiar with this subject you will absorb the limitations as well as the essentials of the theatre, and when you come to construct your play according to this knowledge you will be equipped to proceed as self-reliantly as you depend upon your present education and knowledge of grammar to write an ordinary letter. A play is written to be played before an audience. The drama which is to be enjoyed only when read in the library by students of dramatic literature is not in the accepted sense a play at all.

I sincerely trust that you will accept this as a truth driven home after nearly two-score years of life devoted to the trying work of play-reading and play-producing. Literary polish at the expense of action has rarely carried any play to success. A majority of the failures which it has been my lot to produce were dramas by writers of unquestioned literary standing—but who, unfortunately had devoted too much time to literature and too little to study of the stage at close range. You will understand that the literary quality of a play adds inestimably to its value but the story is, after all, the dominant force.

Develop your action in a scene that holds the truth balanced between contrasted characters, so that suspense and surprise awaken interest, and truth creeps into the heart of your audience. Accomplish this and you can depend upon it—such a story will awaken a human response though the lines be written in the single syllables of the nursery.

A man who almost lived upon the stage can ask no greater acknowledgment than that he has striven to keep it clean, wholesome, and entertaining. I think that the general public little knows how difficult it is to secure plays that while pure in tone still possess sufficient dramatic

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interest to command the attention of the average audience.

Not long ago, before a prominent commercial club of the Middle West, I was requested to say a few words about "The Business of the Actor." At the conclusion of my remarks a friend asked me: "If you had your life to live over again, would you choose the same profession?" I answered that no man could be more conscious of the time he had wasted and the opportunities he had missed than myself, but when I considered that I had retained the friendships that were formed in my youth, when I realized I had always commanded the respect and confidence of my audiences, that I had—as far as within me lay—been honest and sincere in my dramatic work, and that since I had been responsible for the plays in which I had appeared that I had endeavored to present only plays calculated to retain the esteem for which I had striven, and that I had been fairly successful commercially, that my domestic life had been a very happy one—it seemed to me that the ordinary man with the gifts with which Nature endowed me would hardly have the right to ask for more. So I said: "If it were to be done over, I should try to do it again, to the best of my ability."

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THE AWAKENING OF EVERYMAID

BEING THE SECOND PARTHENEIA
PERFORMED APRIL 12, 1913

EVELYN AGNES STEEL

NOTE.—The *Partheneia* arose out of Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell's desire for the women of the University to devote their efforts to some annual masque or ritual informed with beauty and expressive of their highest ideals. The first *Partheneia*, by Miss Anna Rearden, was of such delicate symbolistic appropriateness as to suggest to many that there was within it the lambent flame of ritual which, in accordance with a hope often expressed by Mrs. Mitchell, might be preserved to give continuity to the rite. Accordingly it was decided that the permanent motive of the *Partheneia* should be the transition from girlhood to womanhood.

Out of fifteen sketches submitted in the annual competition, *The Awakening of Everymaid*, by Miss Evelyn Steel, a senior student in the College of Letters, was chosen by unanimous vote. Both in content and in metnod the new scenario shows clearly that the fundamental motive may be expressed without any imitation of the original *Partheneia*. The *Awakening of Everymaid* rests on the ideal markedly different from Miss Rearden's, that sorrow is not an essential factor in the transition from girlhood to womanhood. Its climax, moreover, the Vision of the Madonna (that is to say, of universal motherhood), gives it an entirely new, though not inconsistent, significance. Finally, it is interpreted almost entirely by the dance.

On Mrs. Mitchell's withdrawal from the University, she entrusted Professor Lucy Ward Stebbins, her successor as Dean of Women, and Dr. Herbert E. Cory, of the English Department, with the general advisorship. Miss Mayde Hatch was given charge of the dancing. Mr. Edward G. Stricklen, of the Department of Music, who collaborated with Mr. Porter Garnett in the production of the Bohemian Club Grove Play for 1911 and who orchestrated several MacDowell pieces for the first *Partheneia*, composed the music for *The Awakening of Everymaid*. The music is constructed largely out of the Madonna motive, phrases of which are continually adumbrated in the various episodes, but which is not fully stated until the Vision of the Madonna brings the climax.

HERBERT E. CORY.

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PERSONS OF THE MASQUE

SPRING

EVERYMAID

THE COMPANIONS OF EVERYMAID

SHADOW OF A DREAM

THE DREAM SPIRITS

THE VISIONS OF GIRLHOOD

THE WINE OF LIFE

ALMA MATER

THE QUESTING KNIGHTS

SERVICE AND GOOD DEEDS

THE CHILDREN

DESIRE OF THE WORLD

ATTENDANTS OF DESIRE OF THE WORLD

PRIDE OF LIFE

TRUE KNOWLEDGE

GLITTERING WEALTH

GAY PLEASURE

QUEENLY POWER

RADIANT FAME

ACHIEVEMENT

THE MADONNA

ATTENDANTS OF THE MADONNA

SACRIFICE

HOPE

DEEP JOY

BLESSEDNESS

LOVE

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These things whereof ye read take place within a sheltered glade, half circled by a little stream. Along its banks young trees and lush vines make a soft green background. In the distance a bridge of white stone leads to the World Beyond. The level sunlight lies in broad bands of gold across the grass, and turns to shining bronze the leaves that crown the gnarled, gray oaks. There is no sound save the murmur of water and the hum of insects. The peace of late afternoon dwells within the glade.

SPRING is seen approaching slowly through the trees. Softly she comes, a slender figure clad in April green. From her shoulders hangs a long, green veil, flower-bordered, to the grass. Pale young leaves are braided in her hair and in her arms she bears the fragrant, golden bloom of the acacia, whose swift coming in a night heralds the spring. Now she speaks and all her words are low and clear, as with the sound of murmuring waters.

PROLOGUE

Oh, welcome are ye all who come to view these rites of maidenhood! For now the slow cycle of the gently changing year is passed, and Spring is come again, soft blossoming out of winter.

I bring no sudden burst of green from dead white snows, no change from skies all darkened to clear blue again, no welcoming sound of bird-note, half forgot, because long silent.

Only the hill-slopes hide their common robe of softest brown, cloud-shadowed, first with drifting wraiths of white sea fog and cool salt fragrance, then with a flower-starred veil of tender green.

Now, too, for days the dry brown oak leaves flutter quietly to the grass, unnoticed. And as each one quits its place to mingle with the earth and make a deep, warm bed for next year's violets, another little leaf of pale, soft green is there, till lo, one morning the whole tree is crowned and all the while sleeping ye marked it not.

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These silent messengers I send before me to foretell my coming. But last of all, when every bud is green, the Sun my father flings his golden net at dawn upon the acacia trees, and straightway they awake to life and catch the sunbeams tangled in their feathery leaves and hold them captive.

And now the meadow lark from the moist, fragrant bosom of the fruitful earth, bursts into his bright fragment of a song. Exultantly he sings to greet the dawning of the year, and tell ye all what else ye scarce had known, so lovely was the night.

Oh welcome yet again all ye who come once more to share these rites of maidenhood!

Here in this glade since last ye came have many maidens blossomed into womanhood—yea blossomed like the flowers, like the grass and trees, to greet my coming, for yet another year has passed into its yesterdays and spring is come again.

Here beneath low-boughed oaks there lies the dim gray shadow-land of Girlhood's Dreams. Now shall ye see how Everymaid doth wander in this land of Dreams, lead by a misty shadow of herself. Now shall ye see the fair dream fabric of a maiden's life whereof she weaveth visions.

Here for a little space your world-dimmed eyes are cleared and ye may gaze into this land and see a maiden's visions of the future.

But spring must fade. The dream world cannot last. And now the desire of all the world seizes on Everymaid, and lures her on to drain the wine of life. She longs to see, to feel, to live all that life holds of good or ill. Power, fame and knowledge to her eyes gleam bright. Achievement stands before her as the goal of shining hopes until . . . there comes again the Shadow of a Dream, faint music, and a space of utter silence, wonderful . . . and then there comes to Everymaid the Vision!

Here in this glade is neither pain nor sorrow, nor have these any part in the Awakening, for the Vision comes with joy and awe and gladness, and the eyes of Everymaid are wide with wonder.

Now shall ye see how that the Vision comes to Everymaid and she awakes—a woman.

Thrice welcome are ye all, and may there be to each and every one that cometh here a Vision!

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THE JOYOUS MAIDENS

Now when she has finished speaking SPRING stands silent for a moment, until she hears a strain of faerie music, sounded faintly in the distance. Then she turns and wanders down the glade, and as she walks the yellow blossoms flutter gently to the grass. All the while the sound of unseen instruments grows ever clearer, till at last, there is a burst of joyous, lilting melody, and a throng of maidens dancing through the trees on every side fill the open grassy spot between the oaks. Swiftly they whirl and poise, here and there, and ever moving, for their's is the joy of Life and Youth in Spring, which never wearies. Their garments flutter in the swirling dance, and these are of quaint fashion and of all fair and goodly colors—pale pink and green and gold, with here and there a deeper rose or violet, or the pale yellow of the primrose and spring crocus. And some bear great, flat baskets bright with flowers, and others wave aloft green wreaths or single blossoms, and some softly clash the golden cymbals high above their heads, and as they dance, gay streamers flutter everywhere till one who watched would say it was a rainbow on the grass, or else a glimpse into that glass which old books tell of, wherein all colors move in dazzling patterns as it turns.

Now some among the maidens cease their dance and, sitting on a mossy bank, begin to wind their flowers in garlands and to sing their joy in life, the while their sisters still are dancing. And this is the song they sing to that same joyous melody which SPRING awakened:

The words of the meadow lark's song we know,
For the thrill of the meadow lark's joy have we—
A joy in the clear deep blue of the sky
When the west wind blows, with the breath of the sea,
And the great white hosts of the rain clouds fly;

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A joy in the sun on the live-oak boughs,
And the shadow of soft white clouds on the hill,
And the breath of acacia heavy with gold
At the sunset hour when the air is still.
The words of his song has the meadow lark told,
And happy are we as we sing.

THE COMING OF DREAMS

Thus sing the joyous maidens and gaily wind their garlands, but the childish hours must pass, as needs no sage to tell us, and lo, a change is coming o'er the maidens softly, and they know not whence it comes. The music grows more clearly rhythmical and slow, a wistful minor note that yearns for things unknown, half understood. The maidens still are dancing, but with steps more slow, bound by the faerie strain, and now their sisters who but late were weaving garlands let fall their flowers unnoticed, and with idle hands and far seeing eyes they sing once more the song that springs unbidden to their lips. And these are the words they sing to that same wistful, haunting melody:

Out from the sea floats the dim white fog—
The song of the dreaming maid it weaves—
A song of silence and dim veiled shapes,
And the whisper of mist as it drips from the leaves;

A song of castles seen in the fog
And borne by the north wind far away,
Of trees that beckon with ghostly arms,
And faerie visions that will not stay.

The Land of the Future is here in the mist—
And happy are we as we dream.

During the song the DREAM SPIRITS, whose presence has wrought the change, can be seen moving among the trees beyond the stream, and as the last words are uttered they float from among the trees on every side. They are veiled in clinging robes of pale blue, lavender and silver—all

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shimmering and mystic. As they hover in groups, now hiding, now disclosing the bright robed maidens it is as though a cloud passed over the sun and then the cloud floats away, and comes once more, as is the manner of the month of April. Now with mystic gestures and in rhythmic dance the DREAM SPIRITS weave their spell, till, one by one the maidens are lured off into the land of dreams, and gradually they fade among the trees following these misty shadows of themselves.

As they leave the glade one among the maidens falters in her dance, wondering why the song no longer rises to her lips and whither her companions all have fled. Now from the cloud of blue-veiled SPIRITS flits SHADOW OF A DREAM, weaving still her mystic spell to lure the maiden on, and EVERYMAID follows, as one who knoweth not the voice that calls, follows to the great hollow oak that guards the glade. And here from its curved roots SHADOW OF A DREAM brings forth a crystal ball. She sits beneath the withered gray tree and holds the ball in her two hands, turning it slowly, while EVERYMAID kneels beside her gazing into its depths. Save for these two the glade is empty and very still, for the dream spell now is woven and the faerie music that helped weave the spell has ceased.

THE VISIONS OF GIRLHOOD

Soon it is heard again and with its sound there pass before the eyes of EVERYMAID the visions that are mirrored in the crystal ball. Slowly they pass across the glade, and with no sound save for the music which evokes them, music woven from the wistful luring spell of dreams and secret longings. And these are the five visions which are seen by EVERYMAID:

The Vision of The Wine of Life

First there comes a strain that throbs with love of beauty and of life, and down the hillslope in the distance troops a band of glowing maidens, tossing red roses and bright scarlet poppies as they come. Royally are they clad

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in raiment flecked with gold and goodly colors. The deep purple of the grape is their's and flaming crimson of the vine at harvest tide, when still a few leaves show dark, shining green. The hard gold glitters on their outstretched arms as each one binds her comrade with a rope of blood-red roses in the sinuous mazes of their dance.

The Vision of Alma Mater

The revelers pass on far down the glade as SHADOW OF A DREAM turneth the crystal ball, and now there treads upon the grass—still strewn with the roses of the Wine of Life—a tall and noble woman. Clad in warm, rich brown is she—brown which is the hue of wisdom for it holds within its depths all sunlight. And she is ALMA MATER, who leadeth one a little way upon the journey and points out the path. One arm she throws about the shoulders of a little maiden by her side, a little maid in white and gold who beareth in her hand a lamp, and her serious face is all aglow with faith and hope and wonder.

After these two and following in their steps come those who shadow forth to EVERYMAID the calling of her future, and its high achievement. One there is in gold who beareth a palette and a sheaf of brushes, and seeth naught but shapes of beauty in the world about her, and these she brings to life on canvas to delight the world. Following her another comes, robed in soft tones of heliotrope and violet, bearing a lyre—and she walks with face upturned and wide, unseeing eyes, and parted lips, as one who listens to a secret song. And still another comes in humble robes of brown and green, the colors of the earth and shrubs, and all her thoughts are buried in the Druid's Book of Wisdom, and she bears sweet smelling plants and herbs that heal the sick. And last of all there cometh one, more glorious than the rest, who sees the world, and hears the heavenly voices, and traces all things in a mighty scroll, that men may happier be and wiser. And all her robe is wrought of palest azure blue—the color of the sky—as was the raiment of the bard among the ancient Britons.

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The Vision of the Questing Knights

But still the crystal ball revolves, and these pass out of sight, while through the trees beyond the stream there is a gleam of wondrous fire approaching. High in the air it seems, a moving flame of crimson, vert and azure, and beyond, a gleam of armor, shining helm and pointed lance. Slowly the cavalcade approaches and is seen. First a tall, gray, shadowy figure bears aloft the Grail, veiled in flaming samite. And after it there follow at a distance, riding one by one, without sound of hoof or clang of arms—Galahad, Arthur, Launcelot, Bors and Perceval—and others of the wondrous Table Round—Ozanna of the Hardie Heart, and Sagramour le Désirous—brave knights who felt the questing spirit known to EVERYMAID, and sought the Holy Grail throughout the world. Now Galahad, the pure in heart, is nearest to the Grail, and rideth all in scarlet as the old books tell, bearing white lilies blazoned on his shield. And Launcelot rideth bravely, clad in burnished mail all fairly fashioned, and from his lance there floats a pennon gay, and round his helm a lady's favor twines, and on his deep blue shield a gold lion rampant. Arthur ye might not know for king save by the light in his deep eyes and by the dragon of the great Pendragonship that writhes upon his shield. So, too, hath every other knight his token, and one by one they ride across the glade seeking the Grail, and pass out of the dreams of EVERYMAID, but do not die, for they shall come again in other fashion. And all the while the music breathes its mystic song of the eternal seeking and the world wide quest, and of the goal that ever fades and vanishes.

The Vision of Service and Good Deeds

Now there comes a lower, simpler strain that haunteth not with quests and goals unseen, but tells of simple human kindness and the service of good deeds to others, for these too wander in the dreams of EVERYMAID as visions of the future. Through the glade a band of gray clad women pass, with soft steps and calm faces, bearing comfort to a sick and weary world. Upon their robes the scarlet cross is seen, the badge of service and sweet sisterhood.

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The Vision of the Children

As they pass beyond the trees that shield the glade, SHADOW OF A DREAM rises to her feet and holds the ball high above her head, turning it swiftly. There is a sudden burst of joyous, bubbling melody, and down the slope troop laughing, gleeful children to dance and skip and frolic merrily. Their fluttering garments of all colors and the flowers that crown their hair are ever moving—so that one who watched would say it was a host of butterflies but lately born into the sunlight. In their hands they bear bright iridescent balls of childish fancy which go floating off into the April sunshine, and the children laugh, rejoicing in their rainbow colors.

To each one of these visions, as they pass has EVERYMAID stretched out her arms, yearning to make her dreams come true, but ever SHADOW OF A DREAM has held her spellbound by the mystic power of dreams that lies within the crystal ball. For the time of her awakening is not come. But when EVERYMAID beholds the gleeful children, her heart is thrilled with gladness, and a strange new tenderness fills her that she has not known before, so that the visions in the crystal ball no longer hold her, and, starting up, she runs from SHADOW OF A DREAM, who seeks in vain to lure her back and hold her fast until the time is come. Now in truth the spell is broken and EVERYMAID runs gaily toward the children with hands outstretched to join the game that moves in circles on the grass. But dreams cannot be touched—as wise men know—and lo the children vanish swiftly as they came, darting off among the trees with skipping steps and elfin laughter.

DESIRE OF THE WORLD

NOW EVERYMAID runs hither and thither seeking the lost children of her dream—but suddenly there is a burst of triumphant music and DESIRE OF THE WORLD enters, attended by a glittering train in all the gorgeous costumes of a mediaeval court. EVERYMAID stands bewildered by the

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pomp and splendor, while the attendants of DESIRE OF THE WORLD surround her, and the little dream shadow is quite shut out and forgotten in the press of reality. She runs off among the trees weeping, for when DESIRE OF THE WORLD possesses EVERYMAID, who shall lead her to the true awakening?

Now DESIRE OF THE WORLD taketh her stand by EVERYMAID—a wondrous figure robed in glowing crimson that seems to take the soul from out all other colors and shine forth resplendent with the glory of them all. Fair pearls are twined in her dark hair, and in her hand she bears a golden sceptre. The attendants of DESIRE OF THE WORLD move around EVERYMAID in stately measure, each in turn offering her a gift. First comes PRIDE OF LIFE, in mantle of bright blue and olive green, with kirtle all of gold whereon is wrought in wondrous fashion the gay plumage of the peacock—for this bird was in old time, so the book tells us—the symbol of the soul glorified. And PRIDE OF LIFE wraps about EVERYMAID a mantle of deep crimson that glows like fire and rubies and red wine. Then comes TRUE KNOWLEDGE, all in dark royal blue, the garb of truth and justice and nobility, and in one hand she holds a scroll, all fairly written with bright flowers and fruits and singing birds around the margin. From her hair she takes the band of gold and lays it on the head of EVERYMAID. Now GLITTERING WEALTH steps forth in shining cloth of gold and solemnly round the neck of EVERYMAID she hangs a heavy golden chain, but GAY PLEASURE, with a laugh and mocking glance at pompous GLITTERING WEALTH, covers it hastily with garlands which she flings round EVERYMAID so that the heavy chain is hidden and forgot. And GAY PLEASURE is a winsome figure, in a rose pink mantle and a gown all wrought with flowers and a wreath of roses in her hair.

Then RADIANT FAME approaches EVERYMAID and bestows on her a palm branch—RADIANT FAME all clad in burning orange like the heart of fire. And QUEENLY POWER in

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purple of rich Tyrian dye gives her a torch, that is the sign of power for good and not a symbol of mere sovereignty. Now EVERYMAID in brilliant raiment stands amidst the group, a glowing figure, and DESIRE OF THE WORLD beside her, smiles, while her attendants dance before them, a quaint and solemn dance.

Then cometh ACHIEVEMENT, all in robes of dark wine red, bearing green laurel wreaths. No dazzling sight is she, but walks in simple dignity and grave humility, for she is to EVERYMAID the best expression of her highest self, the symbol of her ideals realized. With her she leads forward those who find most favor in her sight, maidens who have expressed in deeds their noble ends of high endeavor, and as they kneel DESIRE OF THE WORLD binds round the head of each a wreath of laurel. One there is to whom attainment in the realm of books bringeth a crown, and others who have brought their gifts of service to the common altar, each in different guise, expressing in their several ways, in art or music or the gift of words, the ideals of the many. And one there is whose gift has been wise guidance and the power to weld together many minds. And each of these is honored by ACHIEVEMENT that EVERYMAID may see the value of endeavor and accomplishment. For ever as she moves in land of dreams or world of real shapes, EVERYMAID'S ideals are changing, and as she reaches each new goal, still before her eyes another gleams. But the laurel crowns of youth shall never fade or wither, and in the light of larger visions of the future, ACHIEVEMENT, with her earnest eyes, is noble still.

THE VISION OF THE MADONNA

Now EVERYMAID turneth to DESIRE OF THE WORLD, for her heart is won, and DESIRE OF THE WORLD taketh her hand to lead her from the glade, while all the others follow after her. Suddenly the music ceases. There is a space of utter silence . . . then the dream motif is heard once more. SHADOW OF A DREAM flits across the glade and is gone.

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EVERYMAID stops short, as one recalling vaguely half forgotten dreams. The clear voices of the children are heard . . . calling as though from the tree tops. Their laughter, elusive, witching, seems to come out of the air on every side.

EVERYMAID waves back the attendants of DESIRE OF THE WORLD who would press on, and stands alone in her gorgeous raiment a step before the rest. There is silence for a moment . . . then wonderful, low music. And now across the glade following the path of SHADOW OF A DREAM, comes a stately figure in flowing robes of deep blue. Her head is bent and covered by a dark scarf. EVERYMAID watches her in awe. As she reaches the center of the glade she lifts her head for an instant, and the level sunlight filtering through the leaves, falls upon the golden hair of the child in her arms. No mystic flame surrounds her head, and there is no wondrous light about her save the light that shines from the eyes of every Mother since the world began.

EVERYMAID drops her palm branch and her torch unconsciously. THE MADONNA passes on across the glade and disappears among the trees. Then EVERYMAID takes three steps after her with arms outstretched. The crimson mantle with its chains and garlands slips from her shoulders to the ground, and she stands once more in the straight white robe of girlhood. Only the crown of KNOWLEDGE remains upon her head, for this much she has gained from contact with reality. Meanwhile the other maidens have crept in from all sides and stand in the background watching her.

Now into the glade and following THE MADONNA come five glorious figures who shall be the friends of EVERYMAID, the color of their garments telling of their nature. For one in vivid scarlet walks, and she is SACRIFICE, and HOPE is there in vesture all of green with promise of fair future, and there too comes DEEP JOY in gold arrayed, pale gold and bright, like petals of the daffodil, and BLESSEDNESS in purest white, and last of all comes LOVE, on whose blue robe is wrought the endless symbol of eternity. And these draw

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near and LOVE takes off her mantle to wrap it about EVERYMAID, and the mantle is like unto THE MADONNA'S—the deep blue of the sky, when the north wind follows the rain.

EVERYMAID turns, facing DESIRE OF THE WORLD and her attendants. A wonderful light shines in her face, and she flings wide her arms. Again the Madonna motif . . . softly from the distance, telling the endless mystery of mother love, and the pure joy of service, and then in tones of growing power the exaltation of humanity. Every one in the glade turns. There on a bridge of white stone THE MADONNA stands. As she looks back at EVERYMAID the sunlight shines on her face and she seems to smile. Then she passes slowly on across the bridge and disappears.

EVERYMAID follows her without a backward glance. Glorious music fills the glade, as after her in order go the attendants of THE MADONNA, DESIRE OF THE WORLD and all in her train, the VISIONS OF GIRLHOOD and the maidens. The DREAM SPIRITS hover in the background beyond the stream, as the procession winds among the trees, following the path of THE MADONNA, across the bridge, and up the slope into the Great World Beyond.

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OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES*

JAMES T. ALLEN

"I love everything that's old: old friends, old times, old manners, old books, old wines."

The old wine whose virtues I praise is the old wine of Greek literature, and the particular vintage—choicest vintage of them all—is Greek literature as read in its original form. Greek literature in translation is, indeed, a vintage not to be despised; but the original has a delicacy and fragrance all its own—a rare bouquet which is the joy of every connoisseur, but is known, alas! to how few!

For there exists today a widespread prejudice against the study of Greek. "Greek!" exclaimed the Senior as she looked over the Freshman's study-card, "*Greek!* What are you studying *Greek* for!" "Oh!" stammered the younger girl eager to vindicate herself, "i-i-i-it isn't real Greek; it's only Greek sculpture." And only recently within our own hearing this study has been called in question, not to say, vigorously assailed, which may pass as one reason for this my choice of theme.

For I believe heartily in the study of Greek. And yet scarcely less heartily do I find myself in sympathy with much of the distaste which many feel toward this subject. For I am not one to support indiscriminately all that has

* A paper read before the Outlook Club, Oakland, California, February 13, 1913.

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been said in its defense. Rather—and let me confess it freely—for several years have I been inclined to disagree with much that enthusiastic advocates have claimed for it. For several years have I looked with disfavor upon methods of teaching in vogue and even more upon the content of the teaching. For the traditional introduction to the study of Greek as followed in this country, by which I mean the Anabasis of Xenophon (four to six books), preceded by six or nine months of drill on forms and vocabulary, accompanied by the reading of illustrative sentences culled from the Anabasis or modelled thereon—this traditional approach to the study, which in the high school normally occupies two years, is in my judgment not only too narrow, but is not sufficiently cultural in its effects to justify so great an expenditure of time and labor. For true culture should the study of Greek advance, not check. And those who defend the traditional course, just outlined, should recognize more clearly than they sometimes appear to do that for those who early discontinue the study of Greek there is no particular merit in the memorizing of paradigms and word-lists—except as such memory work may help to toughen the mental fibre—and that certainly no true culture may be extracted from the reading of such inanities as: "The general led the hoplites across the river"; "The queen carried the girdles into the village"; and "The asses kicked up their heels and ran away," and that even the Anabasis itself conveys no adequate impression of the originality and fecundity of the Hellenic genius.

No! To spend two years upon Xenophon is a sad mistake. At the best Xenophon is but second rate. How often have I heard teachers of Greek complain that they read with their classes nothing that possessed the splendor and charm of great literature until they came to the immortal verse of Homer! And yet, as I conceive it, the one best reason which can be assigned for the study of Greek at all is that thereby one may be enabled to read in their original form the choicest portions of Greek literature—the finest flower

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and revealing of the Hellenic mind. To this end all other objects are for the majority subordinate.

What then is to be done?

It is more than five years since first I asked myself this question, and at least three years since I began in earnest to struggle with the problems my answer raised. For the answer was readily forthcoming: *Begin at once with the reading of choice literature.* But how difficult to pass from theory to practice, to transmute the base metal of an idea into the refined gold of sure results! As Menander has it:

> Χαλεπὸν τὸ ποιεῖν, τὸ δὲ κελεῦσαι ῥᾴδιον,
> To command is easy, but execution's hard.

For the problem is a peculiarly knotty one. At best Greek is a difficult language. Hundreds of forms must be learned before one can read widely and with ease. The vocabulary is extensive and not readily retained in memory. Moreover, no single composition of any length in either prose or verse is sufficiently simple for the beginner, not even the Gospel of John.

On the other hand there is an evident unwillingness, in America at least, to extend one's study of Greek beyond three years. A few indeed exceed this limit; the majority do not attain it. Some even rest content with but one year. Of course no one can pretend to learn so difficult a language in two or three years, far less in one. Yet even these one-year and two-year pupils have their rights. They must be given something more than a "smattering of etymology," as one unfortunate expressed himself. No! those who offer instruction in this field miss the fulness of their opportunity, if they make not their course of study rich in literature from the earliest weeks.

The problem then is to present a maximum of the best literature, both in prose and verse in a minimum of time. And yet this is only a part of the problem. For there must be running parallel with the selections from the masterpieces and woven in among them a systematic presentation

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of the morphology and syntax of the language and an ordered development of a vocabulary at once neither too extended nor too intricate. Is such a program within the reach of possibility, or must it remain a mere pipe-dream of a fatuous enthusiast?

After several years of search and experiment, of sifting and sorting, arranging and rearranging, and trying the results upon successive classes, I think that I am in a position to answer: Yes, the plan is feasible. But I hasten to add: Within certain limitations. Not every selection read during the first year can be of the first order. A few passages of the second, possibly some even of the third order may profitably be included. A dozen or so of the fables of Aesop, a few problems from the "Elements" of Euclid, three or four of the best Anacreontics—such selections as these make no claim to literary distinction, but their inclusion adds considerably to the variety and interest of the course, and serves also to re-inforce the impression of our indebtedness to ancient Hellas. The same might be said also of the *Μονόστιχοι* of Menander, that large collection of one-line quotations from the poet gathered and arranged alphabetically by the patient labors of successive monks:

An honest man never got rich quickly.
A woman 'tis better to bury than to marry.
Either say something better than silence or keep silent.
You will lead a happy life, if you have not a wife.
There is nothing in life better than good health.
There is nothing more dreadful than a step-mother.
Whom the gods love dies young.

For light-hearted wit and clever epigram Menander was justly famed, and his fragments provide abundant store of good things for early reading. Doubtless also the fragment of the Flower Song, beginning:

Where are my roses, where my violets, where my parsley fair?

does not possess great merit, but it is so simple that it can be introduced with telling effect even as early as the second day.

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Innumerable quotations from the poets follow and are learned by heart; lines from Theognis, from Hesiod and the tragic poets, from Terpander, Sappho and Anacreon, from the Anthology, especially some of the graceful verses of Meleager, a few fragments of ancient folk-songs—all in simple meters. These, learned by heart and recited day after day, early acquaint the pupil with the poetic form. One of the longer of these quotations is that splendid ode from the Agamemnon of Aeschylus in praise of Zeus—the Jahveh of Aeschylean theology:

Zeus, whosoe'er indeed he be,—
In that name so it please him hear,—
Zeus, for my help is none but he;—
Conjecture through creation free
I cast, and cannot find his peer;
With this strange load upon my mind
So burdening, only Zeus I find
To lift and fling it sheer.

One was that ruled the ring of yore,—
With boisterous challenge big and blown;
Him tell we not, his date is o'er;—
Nay, the next comer is no more,—
Found his outwrestler, and was thrown:—
But Zeus, with heart and voice acclaim
Victorious his triumphal name,
And wisdom is thine own!

Sing praise; 'tis he hath guided, say,
Men's feet in wisdom's way,
Stablishing fast Instruction's rule
That Suffering be her school:—
The heart in time of sleep renews
Aching remembrance of her bruise,
And chastening wisdom enters wills that most refuse;
Stern is the grace and forced mercy kind
By Spirits upon their awful bench assigned.

—Translated by Dr. W. Headlam.

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Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, —εἰ τοδ' αὐ-
τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω—
οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

οὖλός τις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,
οὐδὲ λέξεται, πρὶν ὤν·
ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-
κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών·
Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως
ἐπινίκια κλάζων
τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν·

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-
σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.
στάζει δ' ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιπήμων πόνος·
καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.
δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος
σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων."

What richness of delight the learning of such an ode as this lends to the work! How it lifts one above the drudgery of paradigms and rules, and refreshes one for a new attack upon the tasks in hand! It is like winning the summit of some towering peak after hours of trudging beneath a burning sun, and there bathing one's soul in the glories spread before him, forgetful of the toil and discouragement of the steep ascent. "The Gods sell all good things to us at the price of toils," sang the Greek poet. Surely this is one of his "*πάντα τἀγάθ'*."

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But there is another benefit derived from the memorizing of such passages. Under the direction of a skillful teacher, the pupil gains not only some idea of the music of ancient Greek verse, but also some insight into that marvelous texture of Greek poetry, of which Professor Murray has so charmingly written in the November *Atlantic* (1912). And besides all this such passages not only light the pupil on his way, but perhaps beckon him onward to the rich treasures which wait to reward his patient endeavor in the days to come.

But during the first year the larger part of one's reading should be of prose, not verse, and here the *pièces de résistance* shall be from Plato and Herodotus, the latter in Atticized form. Every line of argument points inevitably to Plato as the first prose writer to be read in any quantity during the first months of the beginners' course. Plato, from whose language, as Dionysius wrote, "a balmy breeze is wafted as though from meadows full of the most fragrant odors,"—Plato satisfies every criterion of greatness, and besides—and this with me is fundamental—his writings are in dialogue form. All teaching of language should begin with dialogue. And in the course which I am here outlining a short but noble passage from the Republic forms the basis of one of the earliest lessons: *God is good and the author of the good alone.* Other and longer selections follow. We sit with Socrates in the palaestra near the postern gate by Panops' spring and listen to his words as he converses with the blushing Lysis and his playmate Menexenus about the mysteries of friendship, while the "paidagogoi" hover near, ready to carry the lads home at the setting of the sun. We enter into the youthful enthusiasm of the eager Hippocrates as he rushes in upon Socrates before the peep of dawn demanding to be taken at once to call upon the famous sophist from Thrace who has come to town and is lodging, it appears, at the house of Callias. We stand at the bedside of the dying Socrates and hear

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his request that a cock be offered to the God of Health, that now at length he is recovering from the ills of life.

These, and such as these, are immortal passages, whose charm and freshness linger in the memory long after one has forgotten "*Hoti's* business" and

> "the doctrine of the enclitic *De*,
> Dead from the waist down."

Such then in briefest outline is the course for beginners in Greek which I propose. In place of forms and syntax and Xenophon alone, one learns in such a course syntax indeed and forms and vocabulary, but also gets a taste, however meagre, of Greek literature in its most beautiful types. He makes an acquaintance, however slight, with Theognis and Aeschylus, Aristophanes, and Menander, Sophocles and the Anthology, and in prose, with Aesop and Euclid, Plato, Herodotus, Xenophon and the New Testament.

This is the old wine and these the new bottles in which I would have it served. That it can be done I know from repeated experiment; that it ought to be done is my firm belief. And for your patience in listening to a discussion so prosaic of a theme remote from daily thoughts and cares I am most deeply grateful.

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TWO IDEALS OF GOVERNMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY

E. I. McCormac

Wherever popular government has been instituted parties have arisen which have adhered to one or the other of two well-defined theories of government. One party has ever held that government should be administered according to law, while the other party has ever held that it should be administered according to popular will. Names and issues have changed; political organizations have been rent asunder by internal strife, or have merged with opposing organizations; specific questions of policy have been settled or become obsolete; but amid all these realignments of party affiliation there is always discernible a preference of one set of people for government by law, and of another for government by popular will. Aristotle's definition of democracy is scarcely less applicable to government in the United States than to the democracies of his own time.

"One species of democracy," he wrote, "is where the public offices are open to every citizen, and the law is supreme. Another species of democracy is where the public offices are open to every citizen, but where the people and not the the law is supreme. The latter state of things occurs when the government is administered by decree, and not according to laws, and it is produced by the influence of the demagogues. In democracies administered

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according to law there is no demagogue; the most distinguished of the citizens presiding in the assembly; but where the laws are not supreme, demagogues arise. For the people become as it were a compound monarch, each individual being only invested with power as a member of the sovereign body; and a people of this sort, as if they were a monarch, seek to exercise a monarchical power in order that they may not be governed by the law, and they assume the character of a despot; wherefore flatterers are in honor with them. . . . . It is to be remarked that the demagogues are, by referring everything to the people, the cause of the government being administered by decree, and not according to laws, since their power is increased by an increase of the power of the people, whose opinions they command. The demagogues likewise attack the magistrates, and say that the people ought to decide, and since the people willingly accept the decision, the power of all the magistrates is destroyed. Accordingly, it seems to have been justly said that a democracy of this sort is not entitled to the name of a constitution, for where the laws are not supreme, there is no constitution."

There is one word used by Aristotle to which many Americans might object, if his definition is to be applied to their own government. It is his belief that the party which stands for the supremacy of the people must inevitably come under the control of the demagogue. As this term is usually applied to unscrupulous persons only and condemns at the outset their political activities, for our present purpose, the word leader may be substituted. It will be readily admitted by those familiar with our history that the believers in popular supremacy have ever found it desirable or necessary to act through successful leaders; but students of history have differed, and still differ, in their classification of such popular leaders. Some, like Aristotle, believe them to be demagogues; others believe them, or at least some of them, to be sincere patriots and tribunes of the people. We need not accept either of these generaliza-

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tions; but if popular will is to be effected through leadership, it follows that much, if not all, depends on the character of the leader. Ability and sincerity of the leader are as vital to the welfare of the people as a wise selection of measures. Dishonesty and self-seeking ambition of the leader is not the only danger to be feared, for much harm may be done by honest, though visionary and reckless, agitators of reform.

The adherents of the two ideals of government have always had the same object in view, namely, justice for the people, both individually and collectively; but while the end sought by both is the same, they have differed concerning the means to be employed for attaining that end. The believers in government by law have looked upon laws and constitutions as the embodiment of our accumulated political wisdom, while the believers in popular will have regarded those same laws and constitutions, in many cases at least, as impediments to the realization of the legitimate desires of the people. From the very nature of the case the supporters of law have followed a more consistent line of progress. Reforms have been accepted reluctantly and not until they have been carefully examined. Whether they have been accepted or rejected has depended largely upon whether they could be added to past accumulations of constitutional wisdom without destroying unity and consistency. The believers in popular will, on the other hand, care less for consistency. They are willing to follow law and precedent if these meet their needs, but they hold that both should give way to the voice of the people. To them action is a cardinal virtue, while deliberation is regarded as reactionary or insincere. The constitutional history of the American people is but a conflict and the adjustment of these two ideals. Whether the one or the other has been in the ascendency at a given period has depended largely on the conditions of the time and the character of the problems to be solved.

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In the origin and growth of the American government two important tendencies may be noted: first, the development of a written constitution and legal precedent; second, a desire to retain a rigid constitution, but to modify it by interpretation or to disregard it entirely if necessary. It may be disregarded either by ignoring its restrictions or by overruling its provisions by popular vote. The latter method is of recent origin and so far has been confined to the states.

A sketch of the evolution of our constitution will enable us to appreciate more fully the part played by each of the two ideals, and also, to understand better that attitude of mind which holds fast to the written parchment while disregarding its substance.

In royal charters the Americans first sought protection from arbitrary government, and guarantees of popular freedom. By liberally interpreting these charters they found an ever increasing number of rights and privileges guaranteed to them. They held the charters to be irrevocable checks on the powers of both king and Parliament. Regarding these documents as paladiums of popular freedom, they at an early date began the practice of drafting instruments of government for defining and limiting the powers of their own magistrates. Liberty thus became closely associated, in the American mind, with a written constitution.

After declaring their independence of England, it was natural that the thoughts of American statesmen should turn at once to the drafting of constitutions, both for the general government and the states. The character of these documents was determined by the experience of the colonists themselves. There was a universal distrust of both executive and judicial branches of government, for, during the colonial period, both of these branches had been controlled to a greater or less extent by the mother country. In all of the colonies the people had controlled the legislatures, and to this branch of government, therefore, they

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looked for protection of their rights. In the new state constitutions large powers were given to the legislatures, while the powers of the other branches were correspondingly curtailed.

The task of framing governments for the states was comparatively simple, for in each the existing government furnished a basis for the fundamental law. In framing a constitution for their new nation, however, the people, or their representatives, had no precedent to follow, but government by parchment had become so firmly fixed in the American mind that they considered such a document both desirable and necessary. American statesmen were well qualified to deal with local affairs, but they had little conception of the fundamental principles of successful national government. Of this there is abundant evidence in their arguments with crown officials. Restrictions imposed or attempted by England had led the colonists to distrust all central government even though they realized that a union of some sort was desirable. It was but natural, therefore, that the framers of the first national constitution, the Articles of Confederation, should circumscribe the powers of their new government within the narrowest possible limits. The states retained to themselves "every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States." The little power that was given to the central government was vested in a congress of one house, the members of which might be recalled at the pleasure of the states. The powers of congress were almost entirely legislative. It possessed practically no judicial functions and very meager executive powers.

Experience soon demonstrated the impotency of such a central government, and yet the people very reluctantly consented to adopt the improved federal constitution of 1787. This new constitution had hardly been put into operation when many even of its friends—some, indeed, who had played the greatest part in drafting it and securing its adoption—began to look upon it with distrust and fear

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that it might be used as an instrument to deprive the people of their rights. They were opposed, not so much to the constitution itself, as to what they considered to be its misapplication and the extension of its powers by interpretation.

Up to this point the people generally had looked with favor upon a written instrument of government. Down to the Revolution it was the British government that had stood for authority, uniformity, and centralization. The charters, so far as they applied at all, served as checks upon this central authority and safeguarded the privileges of the separate colonies and individuals. Likewise, the Articles of Confederation gave the central government little control over the separate states, and none whatever over individuals. This instrument was therefore not regarded as oppressive by the popular party. The very purpose of the new constitution of 1787 was to equip the central government with all necessary authority, but at the same time to circumscribe the added power within definite limits. The added power was of the nature of that claimed by England before the separation, and although it was necessary for the maintenance of any efficient central authority, many regarded it as a menace to their liberties.

It may seem paradoxical at first thought that the very type of people who had found most aid and comfort in charter government should now so strenuously oppose the government under the new constitution. It was natural, however, that this should be so. England had stood for government by law while the colonists had valued their charters most highly as instruments for obstructing the application of English law. For example, England tried to protect the rights of creditors and maintain a sound financial system by vetoing laws for the wholesale emission of unsecured paper money while the colonists considered that the amount and character of their money was nobody's business but their own. In times of war, England not only expected military assistance from her subjects in America,

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but thought it only reasonable that colonial troops should be subject to the military laws of the parent country. The colonists, on the other hand, held that the people of each colony or individuals themselves had, and should have, the right to decide for themselves whether they would co-operate in military affairs. In opposing the requirements of the British government the colonists looked to charters and precedent to justify their position. They did not, at that time, feel the restrictive power of either.

Certain features of the federal constitution itself and of its application by those who first administered the new government soon aroused the opposition of the popular party. The very people who had used charters and precedents as effective instruments of obstruction now realized that their new charter or constitution might be, and was being, used to curtail rather than enlarge their privileges. In their desire to restrict their officers the people had really, as it proved, invented an instrument for restricting themselves.

Let us first consider the document itself. In framing this the Americans purposely disregarded the example of England and created a government with definite powers and limitations. Unlike any other people, they limited the power of their legislative body by requiring that all laws must accord with the constitution. The document does not explicitly specify who shall determine whether laws do so accord, but the federal courts have claimed and exercised this privilege. As the constitution was made the law of the land, legislation in states is also limited by it. Although a part of the check and balance system, which has received so much praise, this feature of the government has done more to prevent the people from enacting their will into law than any other feature of our governmental system. It has caused much discontent in the past and is primarily responsible for the desire of the people of the present day for unusual and drastic experiments in government. In England, Parliament can enact any law that the people desire; but in the United States, any law of Congress, no

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matter how much it may reflect the wishes of the people, may be nullified by the federal courts, if, in their opinion, the law is contrary to the constitution. In other countries the function of courts is confined to determining what is law. Our courts have this function also, but in addition they have the power to declare void all laws that do not conform to a fixed constitution. In this respect, therefore, our government is less democratic than that of England.

The new constitution had hardly become operative when people began to dispute over its interpretation. A party led by Jefferson asserted that powers were being assumed by the federal government for which there was no warrant in the constitution. This party was called Anti-Federalist, or Republican, while those who stood for a strong central government were called Federalists. Hamilton was the leading spirit of the Federalist party, and Washington, by supporting Hamilton's measures, put the new ship of state on a strong Federalist tack. By a liberal interpretation of the constitution the Federalists were able to find warrant for all measures which they considered necessary to enlarge their powers. Jefferson, Madison, and their Republican followers uttered vigorous protests. They accused the executive department of usurping powers that did not belong to it and of advocating, and securing the passage of, unconstitutional laws. The rights of the people and of the states, they said, were being trampled under foot. On account of his Neutrality Proclamation, Washington was accused of usurping the powers of congress and of assuming the functions of a monarch. The forms and ceremonies attached to the presidential office were regarded as additional evidence of a desire for monarchy. Hamilton advocated the establishment of a federal bank, not only as a convenience for fiscal affairs, but as an instrument for bringing about a closer alliance between the government and the wealth of the country. It is to be regretted that he could not have lived to see how fully his wish for such an alliance has since been realized! To Jefferson and his

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followers the bank was not only an unconstitutional and undemocratic monopoly, but an unholy alliance with the money power. "Banking establishments," said Jefferson, "are more dangerous than standing armies." In his celebrated Mazzei letter he asserted that the avowed object of the Federalists was "to draw over us the substance, as they had already done the forms, of the British government."

The Federalists were distinctly a party of government for government's sake. They saw no reason for breaking with the past for untried experiments in popular government. To them the government and laws of England were the best on earth, now that the Americans were no longer subject to them. They were satisfied to depart from them as little as possible. The men who composed this party had never espoused the inconoclastic views of the extreme revolutionary party, and their experience under the Articles of Confederation had only confirmed their belief in the controlling force of a strong government and their distrust of an unrestrained democracy.

Jefferson, on the other hand, was the apostle of popular government. He regarded formal government at best as a necessary evil which should be restrained within the narrowest possible limits. He declared that Indians were fortunate because they had no government. His distrust of government sometimes led him into the realms of absurdity, as when he declared that occasional rebellions were desirable and ought not to be too much discouraged. He had unbounded confidence in the people and believed that they were most competent to judge what was necessary to their welfare.

Believing as he did that government should be reduced to a minimum, Jefferson bitterly opposed the Federalist administrations. He held that they were both ignoring and misinterpreting the constitution and assuming powers never delegated by the people to the government. "The Federalists," he afterwards wrote, "wished for everything which would approach our new government to a monarchy; the

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Republicans, to preserve it essentially republican." In combatting the program of the Federalists Jefferson formulated his well-known doctrines—the "great Jeffersonian principles"—the key note of which is that the people's will should be supreme. He appealed to the people for support. and was successful in building up a powerful political party the avowed purpose of which was to restore the lost power to the people.

Protests against Federalist usurpations would avail nothing unless practical means for undoing them could be found. If the federal government were permitted to go on interpreting its own powers, the possibility of tyrannical government seemed unbounded, so long as the Federalists constituted a majority. From such tyranny the minority party, led by Jefferson and Madison, saw but one avenue of escape. They turned to the states for protection. Their theory of the checking power of the states was simple and definite, but its application as embodied in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions is somewhat vague and impracticable. Both Federalists and Republicans agreed that the federal government possessed only such powers as had been delegated to it by the people, and that the constitution was intended to define the powers delegated. But here the agreement ended. The Federalists maintained that it rightfully belonged to the central government to interpret the constitution with respect to its own powers, while Jefferson and his Republican followers held that such interpretation belonged to the states. "If those who administer the general government," said Jefferson in the Kentucky Resolutions, "be permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact, by a total disregard to the special delegations of power therein contained, an annihilation of the state governments, and the creation upon their ruins of a general consolidated government, will be the inevitable consequence." He held that the doctrine "that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stops nothing short of *despotism*—since the

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discretion of those who administer the government, and not the *constitution*, would be the measure of their powers; that the several states who formed that instrument being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and, *that a nullification by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument is the rightful remedy.*"

There is no evidence that Jefferson ever had any intention of resorting to force to carry into effect the ideas embodied in these resolutions, but they are none the less interesting on that account. They were the first official formulation of the state right doctrine, which played such an important part in our history down to the Civil War. Both then and on other occasions, those who claimed large powers for the states were not so much interested in the states, as such, as in the people who resided in the states. State governments were but a means to an end, an instrument through which the minority could act. The chaotic conditions which prevailed under the Articles of Confederation should have taught the Republicans the futility of trying to administer a government in which there were as many *final authorities* as there were states. Although Jefferson was regarded as the very incarnation of democracy, his idea that a small minority could and should nullify the laws of the majority was anything but democratic, for majority rule is the very essence of democracy. He uttered radically different sentiments when his own party came into power.

Under the constitution, redress through the states was practically out of the question. The constitution not only made every individual subject to federal laws, but, in spite of Jefferson's protests, the federal courts soon made themselves the "exclusive (or rather, the final) judge of the extent of the powers delegated" to the central government. Any nullification of federal laws, therefore, would not only be unconstitutional but ineffectual as well, unless backed by sufficient force to overawe or overpower federal authority.

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Both Jefferson and his opponents regarded his election in 1800 as a political revolution. Jefferson hoped, and his opponents feared, that it also meant a constitutional revolution. Few now realize how thoroughly the extreme Federalists distrusted Jefferson. They looked upon his theories of popular government as visionary and impracticable, and upon himself as dishonest and unsafe. Jefferson, on the other hand, believed that the country had been rescued from its enemies and the government restored to the people. "The tough sides of our Argosie," he wrote shortly after his inauguration, "have been thoroughly tried. Her strength has stood the waves into which she was steered with a view to sink her. We shall put her on her Republican tack, and will show by the beauty of her motion the skill of her builders." "The revolution of 1800," he wrote as late as 1819, "was as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form."

In his inaugural address Jefferson took occasion to reiterate his faith in the people and to rebuke the opponents of popular rule. "I know, indeed," he said, "that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough . . . . I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth." "Sometimes," he added, "it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question!"

The popular party under the leadership of Jefferson had rescued two branches of the government from the control of alleged monarchists, but their triumph was by no means complete. Not only did circumstances seem to make it necessary for Jefferson to extend federal powers farther than his predecessors had done; but so long as the Federalists remained intrenched in the judiciary, the rudder of the "Argosie" was still under their control. By appointing Marshall chief justice, President Adams deprived the Re-

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publicans of the fruits of their victory. Marshall was not simply chief justice; he was the controlling force of the federal judiciary for nearly thirty-five years. No man in our history has done more to prevent the people from enacting their will into law than John Marshall. He disliked both Jefferson and "Jeffersonian principles," and he never lost an opportunity to deal a crushing blow to either. By a long list of decisions Marshall held rigidly to the Federalist interpretation of the constitution. To Marshall it was not a question of "What do the people wish?" but, "Does it conform to justice, law, and precedent?" From his court there was no appeal. It not only sat as censor on laws of congress, but it extended its mighty hand to crush the power of "sovereign states." As the Republicans had sought protection in the doctrine of state rights, and legislation embodying their principles could be most easily enacted in states which they controlled, many of Marshall's most famous decisions were concerned with restricting the states. If, in response to popular demand, state legislatures attempted to scale down the debts of poor frontiersmen or to extend the time for payment, their laws were nullified by Marshall, who stood for the enforcement of contracts. If the states attempted by taxation to drive out branches of the much hated federal bank, their laws intended for this purpose were pronounced unconstitutional and void. In many cases, too technical to be considered here, the court thwarted the wishes of the popular party and held them strictly to a regime of law. To dispense justice, Marshall believed to be the chief duty of all governments. To this all persons, rich as well as poor, minority as well as majority, were entitled.

Clearly the "check and balance" system had proved an excellent device for checking popular innovations. With final authority vested in a court of law there was, as might have been expected, uniformity, consistency, and efficiency, but certainly not democracy. Even the doctrine of state rights, which seemed at first to offer a remedy, afforded

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no practical means of relief; and it was completely crushed by the Civil War. Only once before this war was the popular party even apparently in control. In Andrew Jackson the people had a leader who ignored not only law and precedent, but court decisions as well. There is no doubt that Jackson's acts accorded with popular will, but he shaped rather than followed it.

The unbounded popularity of Jackson is one of the most remarkable facts in our history. It would have been hard for his followers to assign any tangible reason for supporting him. In fact, they did not feel under any obligation to attempt it. All opposition was overwhelmed with a lusty "Hurrah for Jackson!" Jackson stood for no particular theory of government, nor did he exhibit any well matured views on political questions of the day. His acts while in office were a series of contradictions. The mighty power of the federal government was used to humble "state sovereignty" in South Carolina, while Georgia ignored both federal treaties and federal court decisions with impunity. He disregarded, at pleasure, the constitutional mandate to enforce the laws, but he shied at a harmless internal improvement bill. He browbeat congress, defied the supreme court, and assumed autocratic powers; but no part of his program was designed to endow the people with added privileges. His policy was governed more by inveterate prejudice and personal animosity than by any apparent solicitude for the rights of the people. But he was one of the common people and his prejudices accorded with theirs. He appeared on the scene as a military hero at a time when the people, especially in the South and West, were irritated by too much aristocracy and legal restriction in government. Jefferson's teachings and frontier conditions had led the people to regard formal government as a menace to their liberties, and they felt that Jackson would reduce it to a minimum and restore it to the people. Jackson had achieved fame largely through reckless defiance of authority and disregard for legal restraints.

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Admiring his vigorous personality, the people adopted him as their idol, and for some inexplicable reason, felt that every blow dealt by Jackson to his personal enemies was struck for the good of the people. More than any other president Jackson was the master, rather than the servant, of the people. Like Jefferson, he contributed little to real popular government, and by introducing the "spoils system" into national politics, he created a political machine which has proved to be a most vicious enemy to popular supremacy.

In theory the people have always possessed the power to assert their sovereignty and regain the control which had slipped from their hands. By a judicious selection of representatives they can enact and enforce any law that is not subsequently pronounced unconstitutional by the courts. Even then, they can, if they choose, amend the constitution in any particular or abolish it altogether. In practice, however, the people have encountered serious impediments to both legislation and amendment. There are several well known reasons for this. The people have been taught to regard their constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," and have, therefore, been loth to alter it. They have clung to it even though they were aware that certain of its restrictions form the principal obstacle to a realization of their wishes. The obstructions to desired legislation are largely psychological, but none the less real; and curiously enough the germ of the difficulty may be traced to Jefferson, the man who first proclaimed the doctrine that the people should rule.

While the Federalists held the reins of government no one protested so vigorously against their policies as Jefferson. He alone advised a nullification of laws enacted by the majority. But his views seem to have experienced a sudden change when his own party came into power. The key-note of his first inaugural address—the climax of his definition of an ideal government—was "absolute acqui-

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escence in the decisions of the majority." This "Jeffersonian principle" met with approval and has seldom been resisted. Foreigners who have written on our history have marveled at the tranquility with which American minorities accept defeat after the most bitter of contests. When Jefferson penned the phrase no one could foresee that what he advised would soon be instrumental in defeating his most cherished purposes. Acquiescence in the decisions of the majority is an essential to pure democracy, but it is equally essential that the decisions should be a genuine expression of the will of the majority. While it has always been possible for the people to decide questions of governmental policy, in practice they have found it difficult to do so. Issues are presented, not on their merits, but as a part of a party program. Having accepted Jefferson's "principle" of acquiescence, the people fell an easy prey to the "principle" of party loyalty, and with this firmly intrenched in our governmental system, there can be no real expression of popular will. The tendency of the people has been to follow parties blindly and implicitly, regardless of the merits of party platforms. There has not been, and there cannot be, any real expression of opinion on individual questions of policy so long as the people care more for the interests of their party than they do for their own.

Although the Civil War was a forcible application of majority decision to one particular question, the general effect of the war was to remove control of government still farther from the people. As the majority party had prosecuted the war to defend the Union and enforce its laws, they became imbued with the idea that, whatever is government is right. The country was divided into a "Solid South" and an almost equally solid North. Party solidarity could not be broken, no matter what issues presented themselves. The result was inevitable. Both parties, but especially the one in power, came more and more under the control of special interests. Industrial progress and the various problems connected with it only made control by

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special interests more certain and rapid. Knowing the abject party loyalty of the people, politicians betrayed their constituents without compunction or fear. With legislation in the hands of men who are put in office by seekers of special privileges, and with court procedure vitiated by a multitude of technicalities invented by skilled but unscrupulous attorneys, government by the people is more nominal than real. In all branches of our government—federal, state, and municipal—the welfare of the many has been sacrificed for the benefit of the few. For this condition of affairs the people themselves, and not our system of government, are in the main responsible.

Before any remedy could be hoped for the first thing necessary was a realization of actual conditions. Such a realization was retarded by party loyalty and political apathy. Industrial prosperity which prevailed in spite of political and judicial legerdemain, contributed materially to this political apathy. But the widespread political discontent of the last few years, the breaking of party lines, and the innovations in legislation, all indicate not only a realization of conditions, but a determination on the part of the people to secure control of their government. They no longer fear government as they did in Jefferson's time; they wish to control it and greatly extend its functions. The question which now presents itself is, How can this be most wisely and effectually accomplished?

The last decade of our history is conspicuous for the number of reform measures which have been enacted or proposed. Traditional ideals once more divide the advocates of reform into two well-defined parties—one which seeks reform along legal and constitutional lines; and another which would cast aside both constitution and laws, if necessary, and decide all questions, legal as well as political, by direct popular vote.

The legal-minded reformers believe in enforcing the constitution rather than disregarding it. They contend that the people already have ample power if they have the dis-

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position to use it. They prefer interest in elections and the selection of honest men to apathy in elections and a recall of dishonest men. To them, an independent judiciary, uninfluenced by fear or favor, is preferable to a judiciary amenable to varying public opinion, if not popular caprice. Amendments which will purge legal procedure of technicalities and a more effective use of impeachment appear to them to be more rational than a recall of judges or their decisions. They believe with James Bryce that "The doctrine of popular sovereignty is a fine and wholesome principle when it is exercised in the duly prescribed and duly observed forms, just as that doctrine may be the source of turmoil and injury to a people that rushes heedlessly to carry out its arbitrary will at the impulse of sudden passion."

Reformers of the second type have little faith in traditional methods of reform. They hold that it is not only the right, but the duty, of the people to control directly all parts of their government. Initiative, referendum, and recall are already in use in several of the states, and an overruling of judicial decisions by ballot is the latest panacea suggested. As yet, this party have been disposed to leave the regular machinery of government undisturbed, to be used so long as it can be controlled, but they believe in dispensing with it at will and deciding all questions by popular vote.

The two methods of government differ not only in detail, but they rest on radically opposed fundamental principles. Under a government by constitution and legal interpretation the people are subject to fixed and well-known laws. The element of uncertainty is reduced to a minimum. The rights of the minority are protected by the constitution, and not left to the mercy of the majority. The chief purpose of the constitution was to "establish justice," not majority omnipotence. Has, then, our American type of government proved so inadequate to our needs that we are willing to cast aside constitutional restraints and adopt

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direct government by the majority? Have we made use of remedies that have always been available, and if not, are we ready to substitute popular decree for government by law? So far as our federal government is concerned a majority of voters in the recent election have answered "not yet," but the hosts of "New Nationalism" remind us that *Jeffersonian principles* and *Jacksonian iconoclasm* are still with us. Constitutional government is in no immediate danger, but those who wish to preserve it should spare no effort to make our government one of justice in fact as well as in name. Those who are in charge of it have a plain and important duty to perform. They must demonstrate to the people that constitutional government is still capable of safeguarding the rights of the masses. Such a demonstration can most effectively forestall the demand for government by decree.

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THE GENESIS OF A LAW SCHOOL*

WILLIAM CAREY JONES

I am going to venture to talk to you this evening from a somewhat personal point of view. I am going to tell you of some things that are implicated with my own life, of dreams and hopes and efforts of past years, of desires and anticipations for the future.

I was graduated in 1875. I immediately took up the study of law, intending to practice that profession. As a means of livelihood in the interim, I secured through President John LeConte, the office of Recorder of the Faculties. Two years later, at the instance of Professor Martin Kellogg, I was appointed Instructor in Latin as well. I passed the bar examination in 1879. In the summer of 1880, resigning my position at the University, I visited the East on a vacation trip. I had made provisional arrangements for going into practice in San Francisco. On my return to California I was surprised to hear from President LeConte that my resignation, instead of being accepted as a matter of course as I had expected, had been referred in the Board of Regents to a committee, of which Dr. Horatio Stebbins was chairman. A number of conversations with Dr. Stebbins followed. My acquaintance with him had hitherto been slight. From then on his splendid intellect,

*Address delivered at the banquet of the Law Association of the University of California, held in San Francisco, March 9, 1912.

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his powerful personality, his deep interest in and sympathy with young men, contributed in giving stimulus and direction to my course of life.

In these conversations with Dr. Stebbins, in the late summer in 1880, the whole field of university polity was gone over, the origin, the history, the problems and plans and prospects of the institution were discussed. The outcome was, for myself, that I decided, for better or for worse, to remain with and of the University of California. I accordingly adjusted my life to the conditions of an academic career, with its limitations and drawbacks, with its pleasures and attractions. Not only that, not only did I then decide to take up university teaching as a profession, but I resolved to devote my life, as teacher or professor, to the service of the University of California. And while offers and inducements came to me to go elsewhere, or to do elsewise, I remained steadfast to the determination I formed in the summer of 1880, to live my life in the heart of the University of California, to put forth all my energies in the coöperative effort, then so marked in its faculty, to build up the institution, in whatsoever way the demands of the hour might dictate, but always with a general purpose in my mind. Need I say that every year, almost every day, has presented its problem, its special work, that there has always been something of university import to keep my hands full? Offers and inducements, in the face of my fixed and constant purpose, were hardly temptations. No other academic field offered any allurement. I would either spend my life in the campus of my Alma Mater, or I would pursue the active practice of law.

Running through my mind at the moment when I made this decision of my life, and controlling all my actions since, was the purpose not to abandon the study of law, but rather to pursue this study in even a larger way, to strive to be of more service as a lawyer along academic lines than as a practitioner. It might seem, to one looking over my university positions, that I had shifted about from one

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subject to another. But the fact is that while I responded to the call of the University, to the needs and opportunities of the institution and my own intellectual interests, the general trend of my work, whether as teacher of Latin or of History, was always governed by one purpose and had but one goal, my own fuller appreciation of the meaning of law and the building of the foundation work of a true university school of law.

Hastings College of the Law was opened in 1878. I was at that time Recorder of the Faculties, and as such secretary of the President. I was thus in daily intimate association with one of the finest and noblest men I have ever known, John LeConte. Judge S. C. Hastings, during the two or three years while the law college was incubating, came frequently to Berkeley to see President LeConte, and I had many a conversation with him. It chanced also that during two summers I met him several times in Lake County, where he had a country home. Twice, too, it happened that we met on the top of a stagecoach, and rode and conversed together during all of a summer afternoon and early evening. His ideas were large, though vague and unsettled, on the subject of legal education and on the kind of law college that ought to be built up in affiliation with the University of California. He desired himself to make a beginning. He realized that his endowment could furnish but a first installment toward supplying what he conceived to be the field and scope of the future law school. He hoped that from the seed he planted a great centre of legal learning might develop. It seemed to him expedient that for a time the lectures should be given in San Francisco; but he anticipated that ultimately the instruction would be conducted at Berkeley. He repeatedly made the suggestion that I should be the local representative of the law school at Berkeley. The scheme was impracticable, but the suggestion nurtured an already sprouting idea in my mind.

The first Professor of Law in Hastings College was John Norton Pomeroy. His coming to California gave a

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position of incontestable standing to Hastings, for he was a man of well-established national reputation. He was more than a lawyer,—he was a publicist and jurist. Personally, he had a most lovable, sweet and simple disposition. I shared with many others, who came within the reach of his learning and personality, in having my thought and tendencies greatly influenced by him.

I taught Latin for a period of five years. My interest in that subject, while preparing for the bar, led me into the field of Roman Law. In the spring semester of 1882 I was persuaded by Professor Kellogg to offer to the senior class a course in Roman Law. I regard that course given thirty years ago as the real germ of the Department of Jurisprudence. In that summer my title was changed, and I was appointed Instructor in United States History and Constitutional Law. The history side of the title indicated an existing need of the university curriculum ,with an emphasis of my own on American history; the legal side of the title indicated a desire on my own part to mark out a path for the recognition of law from the cultural point of view. During the ensuing twelve years, while a member of the Department of History, I gave courses in Roman Law and Constitutional Law, and also in Jurisprudence and International Law, until my hands were full of exclusively legal subjects.

And so there had grown up within the Department of History another department—one of law—law in its more academic aspects and treatment. This fact was recognized in 1894—after my return from a year's study abroad—by President Kellogg and by the Regents, acting on the recommendation of a committee consisting of Regents George T. Marye, D. M. Delmas, and Columbus Bartlett. I was accordingly appointed Professor of Jurisprudence, head of a new department.

A germ of this department was, as I have said, the course in Roman Law given in 1882. The formal establishment came in 1894. Freed now from the necessity of giving

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courses in history, I devoted myself to working out a scheme of university instruction in law.

In 1897–98, Dr. Louis T. Hengstler came into the department as my first assistant, and Dr. Gustav Gutsch gave a course in Modern European law. The year 1898–99 saw the beginning of a professional curriculum by the inclusion of courses in torts, crimes, and contracts. Judge Curtis H. Lindley was appointed Honorary Professor of the Law of Mines and Water, and delivered a course of lectures. Graduates who had taken as seniors the first year subjects at Berkeley were received into the middle class at Hastings College. In 1900–01, I again went to Europe on a leave of absence, and Mr. George H. Boke came into the department. In 1901–02 President Wheeler recognized the desirability of enlarging the curriculum, and in addition to Mr. Boke, Dr. Hengstler, and myself, Mr. W. H. Gorrill was added to the staff as instructor and Mr. W. B. Bosley and Mr. Warren Olney, Jr., as lecturers. With this increased faculty we were enabled to offer two complete years of professional work. In 1902–03, Mr. O. K. McMurray, Mr. H. M. Wright, Mr. William Denman, and Mr. Lloyd Baldwin were added to the corps of lecturers. Three years of professional study were now provided and a fully developed law school, of practically graduate standing, was in operation. Three men received the degree of LL.B. in May, 1903.

Dreams that had their first faint outlinings—I remember them well; the visions of youth never wholly fade from the mind, but oftentimes become a living inspiration in advancing years—one splendid summer afternoon twenty-five years before in Lake County were now realized in form and to a gratifying degree in substance. The law school was meagre in some respects, but it was started right, and it was large in potentialities; a better condition, I submit, than being large in expanse, but dwarfed in outlook. My solicitude then was, as my solicitude now is, not that the law school which we have seen grow up on the Berkeley campus will not be large enough in faculty and students and material

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endowments—I have no anxiety as to the ultimate outcome in these respects—but my solicitude ever is that our California law school, the School of Jurisprudence, by which title I hope we may soon be recognized,[1] shall be a vital source of power and shall contribute more largely and effectively than any other American law school ever has done to the advancement of law in this country.

But to return to my story. We were housed, as you know, in one small lecture room and one office in North Hall, rooms which I had acquired possession of in 1890 on the death of Professor John LeConte. Our library equipment at the start consisted of a few hundred volumes, which the thoughtful interest of Judge Charles W. Slack had caused to be given to us. Several thousand volumes were added in 1902, by the West Publishing Company, who agreed to wait for payment therefor until the actual realization of Mrs. Sather's bounty. The location of the law books in dusty nooks of the basement of the old Bacon Library building was, as some of you remember, very inconvenient. The next step in our progress was due to Mrs. Boalt's spdendid gift. The catastrophe that befell San Francisco in 1906, however, delayed the possibility of converting her grant of property into money, and the rise in the price of labor and materials made it impossible to erect the contemplated building with the funds that could be realized. The first expedient was to reduce the size of the building. But a re-estimate of cost, even for a building reduced to minimum proportions, showed a needed sum of $150,000. Mrs. Boalt's property would yield no more than $100,000. So matters stood for awhile, until Professor Boke projected the plan of raising $50,000 by subscriptions from the lawyers of California with which to augment Mrs. Boalt's gift. What more need be said than that he raised it? It is safe to say that if it had not been for Professor Boke's faith in his project and his energy in the

[1] On November 12, 1912, by vote of the Regents, the title "School of Jurisprudence" was adopted.

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conduct of his campaign, Boalt Hall would not only not now be built and occupied, but more than likely not yet in course of construction. We had reached a crisis, too, in the development of the law school, when the narrowness of our quarters and scantiness of our library was cramping the hope out of us, and the commingling of law students with the mass of undergraduates about the steps of North Hall was imperilling serious legal study and preventing the growth of the spirit of a common purpose.

We have now, I believe, the foundations laid broadly and firmly for a great university school of law. Our work has been a process of construction, piece by piece, but in all essential particulars according to a preconceived design. While it has not been struck off out of hand, it has been far from a chance or haphazard growth. Starting from the smallest beginnings, the development has been a gradual and orderly one. It remains very much for you, Fellows of the Law Association, to help shape the future. The days for watchfulness are never passed. It is not possible at this hour to go into any discussion of my conception of how the future development should proceed. I believe that our law faculty is agreed that none of the features that characterize the existing plan should be widely departed from, that the scope of the school should not be narrowed, that its standards should not be lowered. I am sure that we can rely on the support of our graduates and of our students, working harmoniously, as a unit, with one aim in view; and, thus sustained, we shall in the years to come, and at no distant day, see, with Boalt Hall as the center thereof, the best planned, the best organized, one of the best equipped, and one of the best manned institutions in our land for perpetuating and perfecting the safeguards of human society.

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A PLEA FOR THE LARGER SPIRIT OF CO-OPERATION IN CALIFORNIA*

SAMUEL B. CHRISTY

As a preface to what I am going to say, and in justification of it, I shall begin by saying that I am a native Californian, that I was born in San Francisco, and after seeing most of the other great cities of the world, and with a full knowledge of her faults, I love my native city best of all, and am proud of her, and the future which lies before her. So if like a true Californian I may appear to swing the hammer, believe me, I do so not to tear down the reputation of my native state, but to make it proof against attack.

California was settled by the pioneers, a stock which has always extended the frontiers of civilization, a stock characterized by self-confidence, courage, independent initiative and intense individualism. To an audience of California miners, I do not need to enlarge upon the wonders which have been accomplished by the individual efforts and the individual genius of the pioneers.

But as our state grows in population, the problems which we have to meet are changing. What could formerly be accomplished by individual effort alone, is now only possible by collective and coöperative action, by large

* An address delivered at Native Sons' Hall, San Francisco, December 11, 1912, before the 16th Annual Convention of the California Miners' Association.

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aggregations of capital and labor. While formerly each miner could work his own claim in his own way, irrespective of others, at the present time large deposits of low grade ore require capital and labor working in perfect harmony to achieve success. So in all other social activities, such as water supply, electric power and gas supply, railway transportation, telephone companies, etc., all must work as one unit; and coöperation and a common purpose for all concerned are demanded for their accomplishment. Formerly, each little mining camp passed laws which fitted its individual needs; now large cities have grown up, and it is necessary for all of the people to work together to accomplish anything.

The intense individualism of the early Californian was formerly a virtue of prime importance, but under the present conditions it has become a serious handicap to our community. Each individual unit thinks and acts for itself, and as a consequence, the California spirit has largely degenerated into obstructive criticism and fault-finding, which makes coöperation difficult, if not impossible, and I believe the time has come for loyal Californians to sacrifice something of their individuality in the interest of the larger good.

Los Angeles and the southern part of our state have been settled by a different stock from that of the pioneers, and the largest part of the progress of that community is due not merely to favorable climatic conditions, but to the larger spirit of willingness to pull together for a common good.

As to the differences in climate between the two cities; San Francisco may fairly claim the superior climate, for there is no day in the year too cold in San Francisco for a man to do a full day's work with comfort, and no night too warm for him to get a good night's rest; but the excellent climate of Los Angeles is better known to the world than the climate of San Francisco, for the reason that the people of Los Angeles have made the world acquainted with the

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advantages of their climate, while the people of San Francisco have been quarreling over partisan politics.

But there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that Los Angeles has had, until recently, a distinct advantage over San Francisco, and northern California in the possession of the coöperative spirit, and the willingness to sacrifice individual and personal interests to the larger interests of the whole community.

I could give many examples of the disadvantages of the spirit of intense individualism to San Francisco, but I will select only one, which is well known to all of you. As an aftermath of the long and bitter controversy of San Francisco with the United Railroads, a fight has gone on in our Board of Supervisors for over four years, to prevent the Sutter-Street cars from running to the ferry on the tracks built and paid for by that company.

Mayor Rolph is a San Franciscan by birth, but he is also the happy possessor of the coöperative spirit in its finest sense. He thought he had settled the matter so that the rights of San Francisco, the railway company and the public were all legally protected. The whole city breathed a sigh of relief. But, according to the public press, the moment he left for Washington, in the interests of the water supply of the city, the supervisors again postponed the settlement for two months, on the plea that the people should have the chance to express themselves on the subject by an initiative election! The fact that the election would cost the tax-payers a mere trifle of thirty-five thousand dollars did not worry the supervisors in the least. Many of the honorable gentlemen who caused this further delay use their automobiles so much and the street cars so little that they were probably quite unconscious of the fact that we common people, who do not own automobiles were suffering great inconvenience. They probably thought that as we had patiently borne the delay for four years, we could probably stand it for two months more.

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So at the foot of Sutter Street women and children have still to cross, unprotected, the broad expanse of Market Street, crossing two lines of swiftly moving electric cars, dodging automobiles, motor-cycles, and horses, to stand in the middle of the street until one of the juggernauts deigns to stop for them and convey them to the ferry. I have seen more than once a delicate woman separated from her children, who were whirled in the crowded car to the ferry, while she was left to stand forlorn in the middle of the street. I have seen many people barely saved from mutilation and sudden death, and for what?

None of our supervisors are personally known to me, but I believe them all to be honorable gentlemen, honestly devoted to what they believe to be their duty. No one would for a moment accuse them of attempting to hold up the United Railroads, as our former supervisors have confessed doing, but it cannot be denied that the traveling public has been held up for four years, and why? Simply because our California spirit of intense individualism is still so strong among our supervisors that effective coöperation for the common good is difficult if not impossible to them. Lest I be misunderstood, I wish to repeat, the supervisors were justified in defending the rights of the city. But they have been too long about it. San Francisco made a contract when it invited the world in 1915. Time is of the essence of that contract.

During the four years that this petty problem of city politics has been in process of settlement by the Board of Supervisors, the Panama Canal, the greatest engineering undertaking that the world has ever seen, has been almost completed. The directors of the Panama-Pacific Exposition have been working heart and soul and with the best judgment, toward getting the exposition ready for the entertainment of the world, and have done their part well, but I ask you, are the streets of San Francisco, and especially the street railways of San Francisco in any condition to handle the enormous crowds which will overwhelm us in

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two years? If our Board of Supervisors have been unable to settle this petty controversy in four years, in the name of common snese, how will they get the city streets and railways ready in the two years which remain?

The answer is plain. We must learn to make a common fight against all the forces which tend to disorganize; against all destructive criticism, needless fault-finding and antagonism, and on the contrary, all the forces of our people tending to beautify and build up the city must work together for the common good. The Mayor, the Board of Supervisors, the organizations of capital, the employers' associations, the merchants' associations, real estate associations, public service corporations, labor unions and the people generally must work together and not against each other, if we are to make a success of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, to which we have invited the world, and we must loyally support its directors. We must bury the hatchet and the hammer, and put our hand to the plow, which stands ready in the furrow, but we have no time to lose, we must do it now.

What I have said about San Francisco applies to almost every city in the northern part of our state. It has often been well said that the people are ruled not by their real interests, but what they happen to believe their real interests to be. The press of California and particularly that of San Francisco can do a great service by insisting day by day that the real interest of the community lies in the spirit of coöperation, rather than in the spirit of obstruction, that follows too intense individualism. Take, for example, the question of the water supply of San Francisco. Los Angeles settled her water supply long ago, but the opposition that has been stirred up in San Francisco when attempting to get her water supply is another example of the too intense individualism that rules our state. If we had approached this problem in a spirit of fairness and justness to all concerned, it would have been settled long ago to the mutual satisfaction of the owners of the Spring

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Valley Water Company, the National Government, and the people of the bay counties.

It is true that a wrong idea has a greater destructive power in human affairs than dynamite, and I consider that too intense individualism on the part of each individual to secure his rights irrespective of those of his neighbor, is working more injury to our state than the explosion, outrageous as it was, which destroyed the Times Building in Los Angeles. For that explosion is merely the expression of the blind hatred which has grown up in our midst as a result of the disregard of the rights of others. The newspapers of our state, and the leaders of public opinion can be of the greatest service in removing this intense individualism, which, though a virtue in itself, needs to be supplemneted by the spirit in which each individual will be able to see the viewpoint of his neighbor. A spirit which will not insist on the last pound of flesh, but is willing to meet the ideas of the other men half-way. If our public press and other leaders of public opinion instead of appealing, as it is so easy to do, to class prejudice, would undertake this task, it would be of the greatest service to California.

Individualism, like fire, is a good servant, but a poor master. Individualism, so characteristic of California, is a most important element leading to progress, but it can only be successful when the individual ideas which thus emerge through men of genius, are taken up and worked out by the whole community acting in coöperation. The greatest influence for good which has emerged in this century is this truth, and it is gradually permeating the intelligence of the entire civilized world. The idea of coöperation lies at the foundation of Christianity, but this great idea has only begun to win its way. Coöperation is not only sound political sense, but it is "good business."

There is a great deal said at the present time in opposition to useless wars, which is just and eminently sound. Justifiable wars will probably always remain as a human necessity, and every nation must still be prepared to defend

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itself against unjust aggression. But war itself, was the first agency which forced upon the attention of mankind the necessity of coöperation for a common purpose. The great armies and navies of the civilized world are the most perfect and efficient mechanisms for coöperation that the mind of man has been able to create.

Gradually the truth of coöperation has been extended throughout the world, but it spreads slowly and with great difficulty; still science has become international, art has become international, labor unions have become international, Socialism has become international, commercialism has become international, and these forces acting together are doing more to prevent useless wars than all the peace congresses that have been called together.

I am no Socialist, and I hold no belief for Socialism, but I am firmly convinced that that community will succeed best which has first learned the lesson of intelligent social coöperation, and I would like to see the spirit which animated San Francisco immediately after the great fire of 1906 permeate the whole state. It was a time that tried men's souls, but then every man you met was a brother and a friend, and great things, which were possible then, have become impossible since from growing antagonism and lingering suspicions. If such a spirit as ruled then could animate our entire state, it would be well worth the purchase even at the cost of another earthquake.

It may be asked, in what way does this interest the miners of California? It certainly interests them more than any other class in the community. By nature of their occupation they are called to isolated places, separated from their kind to pursue their avocation in the frozen north, on the sides of lofty mountains and the arid wastes of the deserts. They have many common interests, but it is impossible for them to get together excepting at rare intervals, such as this. They are the salt of the earth, without which civilization would lose its savor, and it is absolutely necessary that they should work together, not

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only for their own good but that of the entire community.

I need only cite as examples of the harm that has been done to the interests of the California miners by this spirit of undue individualism, the hydraulic mining debris question, the smelter fume question, the conservation question and the Employers' Liability Act.

The real interests of the miners and farmers are identical. Each industry is supplementary to the other, and yet for an entire generation a blight has been cast upon the development of the oldest mining counties in our state by the unnecessary and indeterminable conflict which has arisen between these two great interests. Hydraulic mining has been practically stopped for nearly thirty years, and yet year by year the farmers of the Sacramento and San Joaquin deltas are flooded; while if they allowed the hydraulic miners to work their mines, and then utilized the tailings to fill up the swamp lands, they could live in safety high and dry above the floods which now overwhelm them every winter.

Similarly, the farmers and great smelters are at odds on the question of smelter fumes. The farmers claim damages in some cases for imaginary injuries. These two great interests should get together and settle their disputes on a basis of common sense and justice to both.

The reservation of our public lands on the plea of conservation of our public resources has been administered in many cases without intelligence and with a singular ignorance of the legal rights of the miners. There is no real need for this friction. This is another great problem which needs to be settled in a spirit of coöperation.

The recent Employers' Liability Act which has just been put in force in this state is another example of the need of the coöperative spirit in its execution. As it now stands, it has been the last straw which the struggling manufacturing, farming and mining interests of the state have had to carry.

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We all listened to the eloquent address of Mr. Pillsbury yesterday afternoon, and I think I may safely say that those interested in the development of the mining industries are in accord with him in finding some method of preventing young and vigorous men from being thrown upon the scrap heap by accidents inherent to their daily tasks. But in spite of Mr. Pillsbury's claim to have learned all that the world can teach upon the subject, he has ignored certain very evident points which work a great hardship and a gross injustice on the men who risk their fortunes in developing the resources of our state. He claimed that each industry should bury its own dead, and take care of its injured. He pointed out the great loss of life which occurred in the great Battle of Gettysburg; but would he be ready to say that the army which won that battle should bear the cost of the pensions necessitated by that dreadful battle? It would be as just to say so as to require that each industry should alone bear the entire cost of its own accidents irrespective of the whole community. It is universally recognized that the entire nation benefitted by the bravery of the men who laid down their lives at Gettysburg, and that the whole nation should help pay the cost at which the battle was won.

The same is clearly true of all industries which are classed as those of great risk. The men who fight the daily battle with difficulty, danger, and sudden death in our mines and mills are fighting the battle not for themselves and their employers alone, but for the whole community, and the whole community should share in the cost of the accidents which ensue.

Even Mr. Pillsbury recognizes the justice of this claim, though he says that the producers could easily raise the price of their products to cover the cost of insurance; but as a matter of fact, everyone knows that the manufacturing, mining, and farming industries are in competition not only with the producers of the several states, but with those

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of the entire civilized world, none of which bear a burden such as this law has put upon the California industries. They cannot raise the price of the staples which they produce without being under-bid and under-sold by men from other communities. Such a burden as he proposes to add to these industries would simply wipe them out of existence, would cause the closing down of our mines, the hanging up of their stamps, and would throw upon the community armies of idle men; a greater burden than that which would be caused the community if it assumed its just share of the insurance against accidents.

Furthermore the plan proposed by Mr. Pillsbury treats the workmen as if he were an irresponsible child, and the employer as if he were the fat, well-fed, and heartless millionaire that we are so familiar with in the popular cartoons. It encourages improvidence, recklessness, and unthrift among the workmen to tell them that they can risk their lives at the sole expense of their employers, even though they clearly violate rules and regulations made by the employer to protect his workmen from injury.

It paralyzes the hand of the employer, particularly those enterprising men who are endeavoring to carry on their business with a small and hard earned capital. Such men often work longer hours than any of their men, risk their lives as frequently, and stand a chance of seeing their entire surplus swept away by an accident which seriously injures any one of their many employees. They face for themselves and their families utter ruin, and no provision is made in the law to protect either them or their families in case of such a contingency. The present law almost puts a premium upon accidents, for even should a workman disobey positive instructions made for his safety, his employer is still responsible for the accident.

Furthermore, it puts the employer at the mercy of any malignant, disgruntled employee or other enemy who may purposely bring about an accident which shall cause the loss of life to a number of men, and so incidentally bank-

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rupt the employer. Suppose, for instance, a man should dynamite a building or a mine and destroy perhaps forty or fifty lives, how many industries could stand the consequences, under the present law? It may be said that such a contingency is impossible; but that is just exactly what has happened at the Los Angeles Times Building, where more than a dozen lives were hurled into eternity, according to the confessions of the dynamiters, now in the state prison. Deeds of this kind are difficult to detect, and the present law puts a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous men more deadly even than dynamite.

The present law works a special hardship upon the gold miners, for they cannot raise the value of their product, as it is the standard by which all other values are measured, and they are peculiarly without redress, and the present law has already been felt in again reducing the gold output of California. What is the remedy in this case?

Common sense and the spirit of coöperation which I have defended indicate the remedy. It is for all who benefit by these productive activities to share in the expense.

The proposition of Mr. Pillsbury to establish a state insurance fund seems a very wise and timely suggestion provided it is put upon a different basis from that which he proposes, viz., that the community, the workmen, and the employers each contribute to the general fund to meet the accidents inherent in the several industries. Let the rates be justly fixed, taking into account the risks of the business, the faithfulness with which employers provide safety devices to protect workmen, and the care which employees exercise in observing the rules made for their own protection. Such a state insurance plan would be the wisest and best coöperative scheme that any state could possibly establish, and I am sure that the mine managers of California would give it their hearty support.

I think I have shown you how important it is to the mining interests of California to approach these great questions in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and good will.

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You may wonder why I have insisted so strongly on the importance of the coöperative spirit which so many preach and so few practice. It is because I have seen the good effects of this attitude of mind worked out in the University of California. There was a time in our past history when there was a certain tacit antagonism between the faculty and the students in that great institution. The students regarded the faculty as their natural enemies, and the faculty were forced to take this attitude toward the students, against their will. But through the wise and broad-minded influence of President Wheeler, another spirit has been gradually brought about by which the students have been made to assume responsibility for the acts of their own body, and by means of which a spirit of friendly coöperation and good will has replaced the old attitude of antagonism between the students and faculty. The result has been that the good name of the university was never so safe as since it has been entrusted to the honor of the entire student body. The time and energies of the faculty, which were largely diverted to disagreeable matters of discipline, have been saved for their proper work of instruction, and a spirit of coöperative friendliness has grown up between the faculty and students, which is slowly permeating the entire institution, the ideal of which is to be as helpful to the people of the state as it has been to its own student body.

I suppose you are most interested in that part of the University which includes the California School of Mines. On two separate occasions I have visited all the leading mining schools of the world, and from an accurate knowledge of them all I can say to you without hesitation that although many of them are well suited to serve their local needs, none of them are well adapted to the needs of the California mining students, and while there are still many improvements which we desire to make at Berkeley, the present mining school at the University of California is now, through the generosity of Mrs. Hearst, better equipped

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to meet the needs of California mining students than any of the most famous mining schools of Europe.

But it is impossible for our California School of Mines to succeed without the hearty coöperation of the miners of California. There are some things which can best be taught to the mining student at the University, but there are others of equal if not greater importance, which can only be learned at the mine itself; but as there is no official connection between the mines and the mining school, we are entirely dependent upon the good will of the mine owners and the miners themselves for this coöperation, which is so necessary to our success.

We do not wish to turn out kid-glove miners from the University of California, nor young men who have a contempt, instead of great respect, for the hard-handed sons of toil who have done so much to make this industry successful. We have always insisted that our students should devote their vacations to working in the mines in contact with the real problems which they will have to solve upon graduation, and I should like to point out, not only to the mine managers but to the miners themselves, that the young men who come to them during their vacations seeking practical experience, although green and inexperienced when they come, have among them the mine managers, mine superintendents, and mine owners of the future. I wish particularly to call the attention of the working miners to this fact, because the helpful assistance given these young men in their inexperienced youth is always gratefully remembered by them when they get into positions of responsibility themselves, and I am certain that the helpful aid rendered them now will be in the future repaid with compound interest to those who have assisted them in their apprentice days. I wish also to say to the working miners that these students are in no sense trying to take their places. They are only seeking to learn the practical details of their profession in the only way they can be learned—by actual work, so that in the future they may be able to

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extend and widen the opportunities opened to the miners in the days to come.

I have always urged the students of the University of California never to enter the mines as strike-breakers under any circumstances, nor to take part in any controversy in which they have no means of intelligently determining the merits of the issue in dispute, and I hope that their efforts in the future, even though they may not entirely eliminate, will greatly reduce the friction which now exists between the miners and mine owners.

The University of California is always glad to aid the mine operators of the state, and we *can* aid them, if when they want an assistant they will write us fully concerning the kind of man wanted, what duties are expected of him, and what salary they expect to pay. If we can recommend a man who will fulfil all these conditions, we will do so, and if we cannot, we will frankly say so. The best time to write for such a man is in the month of April, as our students graduate in the middle of May, and immediately scatter to their homes where they are hard to find on short notice.

I wish further to say that while many of our older graduates can be recommended to fill responsible positions, which require experience, we never recommend men, who have just graduated, for positions of independent responsibility; but they are eminently fitted upon graduation for positions involving a knowledge of assaying, sampling, surveying and the simpler operations of mining and metallurgy, and are well calculated to act as intelligent assistants to more experienced men. These recent graduates are admirable raw material for mine managers to train into first-class assistants. Most of them possess the best traits of California initiative and readiness to make the best of unfavorable conditions, and most of them have learned the lesson of coöperation. They have a fine combination of manly confidence and self-resourcefulness, and it is a pleasure and privilege to help them in their careers.

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I wish to publicly thank the many members of this association who have heartily aided us in this work.

Now, in conclusion, I wish to call upon the miners of California to assist with the heartiest good will to make a success of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. We have invited the world in 1915 as our guests. We have pledged our honor to make the best showing possible of our state. We have invited here all classes of people, leaders in finance, men who have money to invest, engineers and architects with ideas to carry out, and skillful craftsmen able to realize them. "It is up to us," as the phrase goes, "to make good," and I know I make no mistake in assuring the managers of the Panama-Pacific Exposition that they can count on having the hearty support and intelligent and efficient coöperation of the miners of California behind them.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD

VICTOR H. HENDERSON

After a brief illness, Frank Soulé, Professor Emeritus of Civil Engineering, died in Berkeley on February 14, 1913.

Professor Soulé was born on August 6, 1845, in Woodville, Mississippi. He was a direct descendant of George Soulé, who came over in the first voyage of the Mayflower. His father was Franklin Soulé, editor and literary man, author of "The Annals of San Francisco" and of many poems.

Professor Soulé graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1866, and was given the commission of second lieutenant in the United States Ordnance. From 1867 to 1869 he was Assistant Instructor of Ordnance and Gunnery at the United States Military Academy, Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics there in 1868–69, and in 1869 he came to the University of California as Assistant Professor of Mathematics. In 1872 he was appointed Professor of Civil Engineering and Astronomy, and in 1900 his title was changed, at his own request, to Professor of Civil Engineering. In 1870 and 1872, and again during the Spanish-American war, that is, from 1898 to 1900, he was Commandant of the Military Department. For a third time he served in that capacity—as Professor of Military Science and Tactics—from August to October, 1904.

Professor Soulé was a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and of numerous other societies, including Sigma Xi. He was in 1878 a member of the State Commission to examine and report upon the sea wall for San Francisco. He was at one time consulting engineer for the Blue Lakes Water Company. In 1900 he was an agent of the United States Department of Agriculture and of the California Water and Forest Association to study irrigation from the San Joaquin river. In 1894 he was expert engineer to report upon the safety of the foundations of the San Francisco Ferry Building. He published numerous technical papers.

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In 1908, after 39 years of loyal service in the University, he was at his own request permitted to retire from active work, becoming Professor Emeritus. During the years which followed, he took an active and useful part in various community affairs. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Adelaide Sherwood Soulé, and by two sons, Beach C. Soulé and Henry Douglas Bacon Soulé. He was a gallant gentleman, the soul of honor and courtesy, and widely beloved.

Thomas Rutherford Bacon, Professor of Modern European History since 1895, and a member of the faculty since 1888, died in Berkeley on March 26, 1913.

Professor Bacon was born in New Haven, Connecticut, June 26, 1850, being the son of Leonard Bacon and Catherine Elizabeth Gerry Bacon. On August 18, 1880, he was married to Jenny Bement Foote at Terre Haute, Indiana. (Mrs. Bacon died a few months before her husband).

Professor Bacon prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, and received from Yale the degrees of B.A., 1872, and B.D., 1877. He was Pastor of the First Congregational Church at Terre Haute, Indiana, from 1878 to 1880; Pastor of the Dwight Place Church at New Haven from 1880 to 1884; Editor of the New Haven Morning News from 1885 to 1887; Associate Editor of the New Englander from 1886 to 1887; Pastor of the First Congregational Church at Berkeley from 1887 to 1890; Instructor in History in the University of California from 1888 to 1890; Associate Professor of European History from 1890 to 1895, and Professor of Modern European History from 1895 to 1913. He was the official delegate of the University of California at the Yale Bi-centennial Celebration. He was a member of various learned societies. He was at one time President of the University Club of San Francisco.

Professor Bacon's humane culture, brilliant wit, enthusiasm, and pungency of phrase, made his historical lectures the delight of the passing generations of students. The hospitality with which he and Mrs. Bacon made a long succession of students sharers of their fireside leaves warm recollections in the memories of the alumni. He was always much in demand as a speaker at representative occasions. For the past three or four years his health had been precarious. Only a short time before his death the Regents had granted to him a leave of absence which was to have continued until he should be eligible for a Carnegie retiring allowance.

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Lester Henry Jacobs, Lecturer in the Law of Insurance, died on March 23, 1913. Mr. Jacobs graduated from the University of California in 1891, and in 1894 received the degree of LL.B. Since that time he had practised law in San Francisco. His first appointment in the University of California was in 1904, as Lecturer on the Law of Insurance. He had served continuously in the Department of Jurisprudence since that time, and his legal teaching and personal qualities of mind and heart were greatly esteemed.

Charles Best, glass-worker in the Department of Chemistry, died January 28, 1913.

New Regents

There have been four accessions to the ranks of the Regents since 1913 began. Hon. C. C. Young has become ex-officio a Regent of the University, through election by the Assembly as Speaker. Mr. Young graduated from the University in 1892; for some years after graduation he was a teacher of English in various California high schools; and for a number of years past he has been in the real estate business in Berkeley and San Francisco.

Mr. Livingston Jenks has succeeded Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig as President of the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco, and so as ex-officio a Regent. Mr. Jenks received the degree of A.B. from Harvard in 1892 and of LL.B. on graduating from the Harvard Law School in 1894. He has long practised law in San Francisco. Mr. Taussig, ex-officio a Regent of the University since 1902, as President of the Mechanics Institute, has now been appointed to the Regentship left vacant by the resignation, on account of illness, of John E. Budd. Mrs. Minna E. Sherman of Fresno, distinguished for her achievements in practical agriculture, and long a leader in all matters of agricultural advancement in California, has been appointed Regent to succeed the late Regent Chester Rowell, and Edward A. Dickson, a graduate of the University of California of 1901, and for a number of years past of the editorial staff of the Los Angeles Express, has been appointed Regent to succeed Regent Truxtun Beale, resigned.

Regent Budd has been a Regent since 1896 and Regent Beale since 1911. The new appointments are from March 10, 1913, for Regents Taussig, Dickson, and Mrs. Sherman, their terms expiring as follows: Mrs. Sherman, 1926; Mr. Taussig, 1916; Mr. Dickson, 1927.

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Seven Thousand Enrollment

The registration for the spring term brought to 7123 the total for the year, including the Summer Session, but not including the students in extension courses, in the Wilmerding School, in the University Farm School nor in the short courses in Agriculture. Of these, 641 were graduate students, 4,046 undergraduate; a total of 4687 graduate and undergraduate students; 2275 were students in the Summer Session for 1912, 41 undergraduates of the College of Agriculture, enrolled for a half year at the University Farm at Davis; 294 students in the San Francisco Institute of Art; 100 in the Hastings College of the Law; 103 in the College of Medicine; 7 in the Los Angeles Medical Department; 90 in Dentistry; and 98 in Pharmacy. The officers of instruction and administration numbered 653.

These figures mean that of the American universities the University of California is second in enrollment; of the universities of the world, tenth. Omitting Summer Session students, the American universities which have made the most rapid gains in the past year have been Chicago, 700; California, 534; Columbia, 479; New York University, 375; Texas, 318; and Cornell, 284.

The intrants for the year 1912–13 have numbered 1478, as compared with 1236 for 1911–12. The January admissions numbered 183. The students disqualified at the end of the first term number 178, of whom 26 were reinstated in January. Of the 152 not reinstated, 58 were freshmen and 39 were women. The degrees conferred in December numbered 96, of which 87 were undergraduate degrees, 8 the master's degree, and one J.D.

The agricultural students this year numbered 455, as compared with 331 in 1911 and 230 in 1910. Besides the 455, 187 people took short courses in Agriculture at the University Farm, as against 163 the previous year, while the regular students in the University Farm School numbered 140 this year, as compared with 99 the previous year.

The School of Education

The provision within the University for the training of teachers has now been organized, by vote of the Regents on March 11, as the "School of Education." This includes the group of professional courses in Education intended:

(I) For students preparing to become teachers in secondary schools or in colleges;

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(II) For students preparing to engage in school administration or to teach in normal schools or in university departments of education;

(III) For graduates of normal schools, who are making further preparation for teaching in elementary schools.

The School of Architecture

The term "School of Architecture" was adopted by the Regents on March 11 to designate the professional three-year course in architecture, covering the fourth year of a college of general culture and two years of graduate study.

Music as a Matriculation Subject

Of the forty-five units required for admission to the University from a high school, nine units of Music may now be offered. Three units may be for sight-singing and dictation, including ability to read simple melodies at sight and ability to write in musical notation any simple melody when played or sung at dictation. Three units may be offered for "Symbols and Terminology of Musical Notation and Elements of Harmony," and three units for "Instrumental or Vocal Technique," which must mean ability to perform with satisfactory technique and intelligent interpretation such numbers as a Beethoven or Mozart sonata for the piano or for the violin, or exceptional technique upon some other orchestral instrument, or ability to sing in a well-placed and well-trained voice an aria by an old Italian master or songs by Bach, Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Franz, or Wagner. Three units may be offered for the "History of Music," which must imply understanding of broad musical terms and a knowledge of the outlines of the history of music, with an intelligent understanding of the elements and materials of music, and the broad trend of general development.

Question of the A.B. Degree

The proposal is now under discussion by the faculty of granting the degree of A.B. to all graduates of the Colleges of Letters, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences, instead of giving the degrees of B.L. and B.S. to graduates of the latter, as at present.

New Agricultural Professorships

Three men who with the present calendar year began their work as full professors in the University of California are Hubert Everett Van Norman, Dean of the University Farm School, Vice-

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Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, and Professor of Dairy Management; Charles Fredrick Shaw, Professor of Soil Technology, and J. W. Gregg, Professor of Floriculture and Landscape Gardening.

Dean Van Norman was the founder and is the President of the National Dairy Show Association, which has been a potent factor in bringing together those interested in the development of improved stock. He was born in Canada, graduated in 1897 from the Michigan Agricultural College, was Assistant in Butter-Making in 1894–95 in the first dairy school in Michigan; Lecturer for the next two years in Michigan Farmers' Institutes; during 1897–98 manager of a dairy farm; from 1898 to 1902 Superintendent of the University Farm and Instructor in Dairying at Purdue University, and for the next three years Chief of the Purdue Dairy Department; and since 1905 he has been Professor of Dairy Husbandry in Pennsylvania State College. He has been President of the Pennsylvania Dairy Union, Secretary of the Indiana Dairy Association, and Secretary of the Agricultural Federation of Pennsylvania. He has published numerous bulletins, in the publications of the Indiana and Pennsylvania stations, on dairy husbandry and animal industry, and he is the author of a volume entitled "First Lessons in Dairying."

Professor Shaw has recently completed, after some six years of work, a detailed soil map of Pennsylvania which has proved invaluable to farmers, as an aid in planning their planting, crop rotations, and fertilization, and useful to investors, bankers, etc., as an index to the value of lands in various localities. He is now organizing the work of preparing and publishing such soil maps for all the agricultural lands in California. His reconnaissance soil survey maps for the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys will, it is hoped, be printed before the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. The work done in past years by the pioneer of soil geologists, Professor E. W. Hilgard, and by his colleagues, Professor R. H. Loughridge, the soil geologist, and Professor C. B. Lipman, the soil bacteriologist, has already resulted in the accumulation of much valuable data which will be of aid in the projects now in hand. Professor Shaw was born in New York, graduated from Cornell in 1906, was Assistant in Soils at Cornell in 1905–06, Scientific Assistant in the United States Bureau of Soils in 1906–08, Soil Scientist with the United States Bureau of Soils for the summers from 1908 to 1912, and from 1907 to 1913 in the Department of Agronomy of the Pennsylvania State College. He has published results of his work in the publications of the United States Bureau of Soils and elsewhere.

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Professor Gregg likewise comes from Pennsylvania State College. He has had much experience both as a teacher of landscape gardening and as a practitioner of that art. It is his hope to make the University of California the center for the western portion of the United States for the professional training of landscape architects. Another important phase of his work will be the training of teachers and of men who wish to make nursery practice, seed growing, plant propagation, etc., their special work in life.

Accident to Professor Hilgard

At a University Meeting held on January 31, Dr. Eugene W. Hilgard, Professor of Agriculture Emeritus, was ascending the steps of the faculty platform when the steps gave way and he was precipitated to the floor. Happily, Professor Hilgard has now recovered from the injuries then received.

University Extension

Credit toward a degree will hereafter be granted for work done in University Extension, the basis for credit being the same as for regular University work. All examinations for credit must be taken at the University or under conditions provided by the Academic Council. The last year of the course for the degrees of A.B., B.L., and B.S. must be spent in residence at the University.

The University Extension Department has laid broad plans for such development as special State appropriation may make possible for next year. During the present year a number of University Extension courses have been given, by Director Ira W. Howerth himself in San Francisco, by Professor Lipman in Stockton, by Professor Henry Morse Stephens for the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco and for Plymouth Center, at Plymouth Congregational Church in Oakland.

The University Extension Department has issued the first of a series of bulletins, this particular one being devoted to data concerning the organization of State control of education in other commonwealths.

An interesting development of University extension is that a number of convicts confined at San Quentin have asked for University instruction. Professor Robert Sibley has arranged for instruction to a group of these men in mechanical engineering, by visitation and by correspondence.

Professor Howerth has been coöperating with a committee appointed by the Berkeley Board of Education some years ago

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and with a committee of the Berkeley City Club in plans for wider use of the school plant in Berkeley. B. M. Cherrington, Secretary of the University Y. M. C. A., has been appointed by the Berkeley Board of Education as "social engineer," and has organized a series of free public lectures, to be given at intervals of two weeks in various Berkeley schools. It is hoped that these lectures will be the beginning of organized neighborhood centers in the schools.

Another development of the year is that a number of regular courses are this year being given at the University in the evening, in order that advantage may be taken of them by persons otherwise occupied throughout the day, as well as by regular students. Professor H. R. Hatfield has had a course for men at work in accountancy; Professor Thomas H. Reed has had a series of evening lectures and conferences for a group of Berkeley women who wished opportunity to meet and discuss problems of citizenship; and Professor Oliver Miles Washburn has given a series of weekly evening lectures on centers of Greek life and culture. Professor W. B. Herms has given a series of weekly lectures on "How to Make the Country Life Movement Effective."

Museum Opportunities

Very effective work is being done by Professor A. L. Kroeber and his colleagues to make the treasures of the Museum of Anthropology of a wider usefulness. These collections were assembled by Mrs. Hearst at a cost of approximately a million dollars, but could not be duplicated nor equaled for less than three to five millions. During the present year there has been active coöperation with the public schools. Groups of children from the intermediate grades and from the high schools are brought from different schools of San Francisco and of Berkeley on several days of each week. Each group sees the contents of the exhibition halls, and listens to a half-hour lecture on some topic connected with their current studies. Such work is carried on both at the Museum of Anthropology at the Affiliated College buildings on Parnassus avenue, San Francisco, and also at the Museum of Greek Sculpture on the Berkeley campus.

A further innovation is that there is a lecture at the Museum in San Francisco at three every Sunday and on the campus at Berkeley after the Half Hour of Music each Sunday. These lectures are on matters of anthropology, archaeology, and art, they are given by various members of the faculty, and they lead to increased appreciation of the extraordinary opportunities afforded by these vast collections.

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A recent accession to the Museum is a collection of some 3000 articles excavated in six sites in the Humboldt valley, near the line between California and Nevada. The collections filled some thirty chests. Included are skeletons, stone implements, and much woven material. The collections are of peculiar interest because they date from a period before the white man had ever set foot among the aboriginal makers of these articles.

Agricultural Extension

After severe frosts which did much damage to the orange and lemon orchards of Southern California, the University, through the generous coöperation of the Southern Pacific, sent a special demonstration train to Southern California. Meetings were held throughout the citrus-growing regions of Southern California, and through lecture, demonstration, exhibit, and conference valuable information was given to the citrus-growers regarding the best methods for pruning, for fertilizing, for discrimination as between injured and uninjured fruit, and for the disposal of injured fruit, etc. Another special agricultural demonstration train sent out during the spring was devoted to the dairy industry. Another contribution to practical agriculture was the holding of special short courses at the University Farm devoted to instruction in pruning methods.

Special emphasis was laid upon the importance of the work of the College of Agriculture in Governor Johnson's message at the opening of the present session of the Legislature.

"We may be justly proud," said Governor Johnson, "of the academic prominence of the University of California. It has attained an eminence that entitles it today to be ranked among the great institutions of our nation. In enrollment it is the second college in the land, being exceeded in the number enrolled by Columbia alone. Its situation is ideal, the standard of its work equal to any, and I feel that too great praise cannot be accorded to those who have brought it to its present high academic efficiency.

"I wish it, however, to serve the other purpose as well; to be in touch with the agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural interests of the state; to be the Mecca of every man who wishes to know how best to treat or till the soil; to be as useful to our people who have been without academic advantages as it is to those who seek academic advantages.

"It should be possible upon any technical subject, governmental or otherwise, for us at once to turn to the University and there find collated all the information upon that particular subject. It should contain experts of such standing that those who wish

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knowledge or instruction in any particular vocation may turn there with the certainty of finding what is sought. It should be in such close and intimate touch with our soil that it should teach those who are upon the soil the best methods of treating the soil, what would be most prolific and productive, and what of the greatest advantage.

"We endeavored in some small measure to attain this end by the agricultural college at Davis, and recently as dean of the agricultural department a gentleman of national reputation was appointed.

"We wish the agricultural department of the state university to be really a department of agriculture, to be a college of farming, and to lend that aid, assistance, encouragement, and enlightenment which may bring the best results."

The California Fruit Growers' Association, in convention at Fresno, on December 12 adopted resolutions urging the establishment of a chair of Agricultural and Horticultural Economics.

Charter Day

Charter Day was celebrated in the Greek Theatre on Saturday, March 22. President Wheeler used the following words in conferring the degree of LL.D. on Sir Richard M'Bride, Premier of British Columbia, who was the orator of the day:

"Sir Richard M'Bride, Premier of British Columbia: Outside the domain of the States you and your people are our nearest neighbors. We of California share with you and yours common traditions of law and letters and a common heritage of blood and speech, but, what will prove far more distinctive, we share a common habitation upon the shores of the Pacific in face of its opportunities, under the shadow of its portents. Like problems, like interests make this dwelling together on the Coast a new bond and new entity among the communities of men. Athwart the formal boundary which stretches east and west to divide us run the long lines of living foam stretching far north and south to unite us. Your presence here today shall be the symbol of a brotherhood deeper than the names of nations.

"Upon you, Richard M'Bride, Knight, I do by authority of the Regents of the University of California now confer the degree of Doctor of Laws: good neighbor, far-seeing statesman, founder of a sister university, leader of your people, stout-hearted and well-beloved."

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The Temperance Petition

On December 20 a petition was presented to the Regents by a delegation from various temperance organizations, asking that the Regents should adopt a rule forbidding the use of alcoholic beverages at any University function. The confidence of the Regents in student self-government was expressed in their action of March 11, when they received and approved the report of a special committee, consisting of Regents Charles S. Wheeler, chairman, James K. Moffitt, and A. L. Scott. The report declared that the cause of temperance is now flourishing with the student body, and that it was believed that it would not prosper similarly under enforced prohibitory regulations. The report set forth that the requests of the petition were as follows:

First: "Will you please define for us the government of the student body of the University. With whom is authority lodged? I.e., who has the right to pass legislation, to determine the intent of such legislation and to enforce such legislative acts? If the government is in part given over to the students, while other features of government belong to the University President or to the Faculty of the University, will you please state for us the limits or authority granted to each?"

Second: "We petition, advise, and urge that you pass a rule that no alcoholic, vinous, or malt liquors be allowed at any function, social or otherwise, given in the name and by the authority of the University of California, or of any department thereof, or of any organization officially bound thereto, or of any company of persons, governed by or officially related to the Board of Regents, Faculty, or Student Body of the University of California."

The committee reported that "while the ultimate responsibility thus rests upon the Board of Regents, in their corporate capacity, nevertheless the immediate government and discipline of the students of the several Colleges of the University is vested by law in the respective Faculties of the several Colleges, in connection with the President of the University as their executive officer," and that while the Board is the responsible ultimate authority in such matters, "nevertheless the several Faculties, under the power conferred upon them by statute to govern and discipline the students of their respective Colleges, have authority also to lay down rules of conduct, provided always that such rules are not inconsistent with the State law or with such laws and rules as may be passed by the Regents."

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The report set forth, further, that "while it is true that the Board of Regents possesses the power to enact a code of express rules, defining what the students may or may not do, nevertheless it has been the policy of this Board, throughout the entire history of the University, to refrain from exercising it. It has been the feeling of the Regents that the manhood of California represented by the young men at the University could be best encouraged and developed, not through mandatory and prohibitory regulation, but rather by an appeal to the best instincts of the students,—to their loyalty to the University and its interests, to their respect for public opinion, and to their sense of obligation to the taxpayers of the State whose beneficiaries they are. Hence it is that no formal set of rules governing student conduct has ever been adopted by this Board.

"But, while such is the fact, it by no means follows that there is no provision for the regulation of student conduct. It has always been the law of the University, recognized in innumerable instances, and established by years of precedent, that any conduct detrimental to the welfare of the institution, or injuriously affecting the individual in his relations to it, is cognizable by the University authorities. Acts of misconduct, either by single individuals or even by whole classes, have from time to time brought upon the offenders various forms of disciplinary punishment, including suspension and expulsion.

"The method of dealing with student offenses, which has been sanctioned for a number of years past, is to entrust to a committee of students, representative of the student body, the investigation and trial of student offenses. This committee is known as the Student Affairs Committee. Instead of themselves naming this Committee directly, the University authorities have deemed it wise to entrust its selection, from time to time, to the President of the student organization known as 'The Associated Students of the University of California'" . . . .

"The results which have followed the policy of the Regents regarding the control of student conduct are a complete vindication of the policy itself. The many witnesses examined by your Committee, while holding radically opposite views from each other upon the issues under discussion, all agree that, under the system of student self-government now in force, the students of the University of California as a body hold a position second to none in the Nation for decency and regularity of conduct, and for individual and collective rectitude and honor.

"The student body now numbers upwards of forty-eight hundred, and your Committee feels moved to express its belief that no

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other group of college men and women is anywhere to be found in which there exists a higher idealism, or which inspires greater hope and assurance for the future of the commonwealth.

"The petition referred to your Committee is not concerned with cases of actual student excess; but it urges that this Board pass a rule which would make the mere presence of alcoholic, vinous, or malt liquors at all University functions a disciplinary offense. While this Board is in entire sympathy with movements looking to the encouragement of temperance among the students, it is nevertheless obvious that to adopt such a measure as is thus requested would be to forego our present system of student self-government. Before taking so radical a departure it is well, we think, to look far enough into existing conditions to see whether it would be wise to resort to such legislation."

The Committee reports "that student opinion is frowning upon all such excesses. That among the students there is a decided trend towards placing a ban upon the use of liquors at dinners of their respective organizations is evidenced by the following resolution passed by the Associated Students of the University of California on the 8th day of March, 1912:

" 'Be it resolved that the Associated Students of the University of California do hereby openly declare its position as opposed to the use of liquor by any student organization on the campus of the University of California, and furthermore

" 'Be it resolved, that it is the sentiment of the student body that the use of intoxicating liquors be barred from all banquets and smokers and other functions of the various student organizations of the University.' "

The Committee reported, further, that it "does not doubt that the attitude of the student body is such today that this question is well in line for a voluntary and satisfactory solution by the students themselves. In this connection we invite attention to the following extracts from a recent open letter addressed to the people of California, and signed by the President of the Associated Students:

" 'The student body in the University believes absolutely and entirely in the progress of the temperance cause. They believe further, however, that temperance will be effectively and permanently achieved only if it grows out of the life and spirit of the students and has the approval of student public opinion. The issue is simply one of methods.'

"The letter goes on to say that certain students 'believe in formal progress of the temperance cause by rules and by-laws inserted into the student constitution. Such rules would be at best difficult of enforcement. The majority of the students, on

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the other hand, believe in real progress by encouraging the spirit and desire for temperance in the opinions and lives of the students. It is really a case of the reality as against the shadow of temperance.

"'Under the present regime of student self-government the progress of temperance in the University of California has been nothing short of phenomenal—that is the testimony of alumni who know. We do not want to retard this fine progress grounded on student public opinion by reverting to the entirely different and fallacious policy which vainly seeks righteousness by rule instead of intelligent belief.'

"To grant the request of the petitioners at this time would, as we have stated, mean an abandonment of the system of student control which has proved such a gratifying success. It would mean an attempt upon the part of this body to accomplish, by prohibitory rule, what our young men may be relied upon to do voluntarily, through their several organizations, once they are impressed that the best interests of their Alma Mater demand it. Past experience gives us ample assurance in this regard. Practices which, in earlier years, were treated as matters of course, are now frowned upon by student opinion, and customs such as hazing and 'rushes,' which it was believed would injure the University in the public mind, have been voluntarily abandoned. Students have, in such matters, willingly put aside their individual opinions for the sake of the University, and we believe they may be relied upon to do so whenever occasion demands it.

"It would not do for this Board to adopt rules and not enforce them. The enforcement of a rule such as that requested would, in the opinion of your Committee, lead to subterfuge and clandestine drinking bouts, and would call for a system of espionage, with attendant student resentment and insubordination.

"The cause of temperance is now flourishing and making steady progress with the student body. Your Committee does not believe that it would prosper similarly under enforced prohibitory regulations. It is, therefore, the opinion of your Committee that it would be unwise and inexpedient for this Board to pass such a rule as petitioners request, and it advises you accordingly."

Vaccination for Smallpox and Typhoid

Because of the presence of smallpox in Berkeley, 1223 of the students applied for re-vaccination during the present year. Of the intrants 412 were vaccinated who had not previously been vaccinated, so the Infirmary has vaccinated during the present year 1635 students. This term, for the first time, opportunity has been offered to the students to be vaccinated against typhoid. More

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than 200 have availed themselves of the privilege. Such immunization is particularly desired by students who are expecting to engage in mining or other engineering operations in regions where food and the water supply are not adequately protected against contamination.

Fraternity Scholarship

The University of California now has eighty fraternities, national or local, which is more than exist in any other institution. Of these, thirty are men's fraternities, twelve women's fraternities, fourteen local men's clubs, nine women's clubs, and fifteen professional fraternities, and there are besides seven national scholarship honor societies.

The fraternities and house-clubs made an advance in scholarship of .095 over the corresponding term of the previous year, according to statistics compiled by Professor O. M. Washburn, Dean of the Lower Division. For the fall term of 1911 the fraternities showed an average grade of 2.64; for the corresponding term of 1912 2.545. Among the house clubs the corresponding averages were 2.48 and 2.413. Of the eight organizations heading the list, the first three are house clubs, the fourth a fraternity, and the next four house clubs.

Honor Societies

Phi Beta Kappa has amended its rules so that hereafter the number elected from each class may equal a number equal to 15 per cent (instead of equal to 10 per cent as in the past), of the Seniors who are candidates for the degrees of A.B. and B.L. in the Colleges of Letters and Social Sciences. The spring initiates of Phi Beta Kappa were received into membership at a meeting held March 24, 1913. Professor Charles Derleth, Jr., presided, as President, while the speakers were Max Thelen, Professor C. W. Wells, Professor Rudolph Schevill, Miss Evelyn Steel, '13, and Clare M. Torrey, '13. The initiates were Jessie Preble, Isabelle Hoyt, Alice Webster, Gertrude Comfort, Grace Wood, Vincenta Moorshead, D. I. Cone, D. E. Koshland, V. F. Collins, F. D. Stephens, Florence Ryle, Ella Martine, Evelyn Steel, Helen Johnson, Katherine Kelly, B. Y. Morrison, L. J. Rabinowitz, C. M. Torrey, F. G. Linde, R. F. Felchlin, Clotilde Grunsky, D. H. McLaughlin, Valeria Mixer, R. G. Wadsworth, and H. C. Breck.

At the spring initiation of Sigma Xi the initiates were Professors G. N. Lewis, W. C. Bray, and R. C. Tolman; and Messrs. L. Rosenstein, H. S. Griswold, C. L. Roadhouse, E. Q. Adams, G.

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E. K. Branch, J. P. Buwalda, A. C. Chandler, R. E. Dickerson, Bruce Martin, G. F. Michelbacker, J. H. Moseley, S. B. Nicholson, E. L. Packard, W. S. Wake, C. E. Wells, H. N. Wright, Ewald Anderson, D. M. Baker, J. F. Ball, Arthur Eaton, J. D. Foster, J. K. Fuller, C. D. Hollinger, O. R. Hull, C. I. Kephart, W. S. W. Kew, F. G. Linde, A. W. Lawson, R. G. McCurdy, R. R. Morse, B. Y. Morrison, Carl Nichols, C. Y. Pfoutz, J. C. Ruddock, T. D. Stewart, J. R. West, and H. G. Zander.

Alpha Chi Sigma, the professional chemical fraternity, established Sigma Chapter in the University of California January 16. Those received into membership were as follows: From the faculty: Professors G. N. Lewis, Edmond O'Neill, W. C. Blasdale, H. C. Biddle, Edward Booth, W. C. Bray, R. C. Tolman; Messrs. H. W. Morse, C. E. Burke, and O. L. Brauer; From the student body: H. N. Massey, Ohio, '06; R. C. Lyons, Oregon, '10; G. H. Bell, '12; T. D. Stewart, '13; W. N. Davis, '13; Ewald Anderson, '13; W. H. Nutting, '13; L. W. Dickey, '13; Joseph Paviliger, '13; H. W. Noble, '14; H. E. Wales, '14; L. L. Lieb, '14; D. R. Frizell, '14; J. W. Barnes, '14; C. C. Scalione, '15; E. F. Thoenges, '15; and C. A. Cromwell, '15.

Beta Kappa Alpha, the biological honor society, on March 15 initiated the following-named: Professors E. B. Babcock, J. G. Fitzgerald, and S. J. Holmes, Dr. Edith Claypole, Dr. E. C. Van Dyke, H. F. Gray, '07; E. P. Rankin, '10; Irene Patchett, '11; Dorothy Fish, '12; A. L. Barrows, '12; P. W. Christman, '12; R. E. Clausen, '12; Harry Yates, '12; Fay Frisbie, '13; Olive Swezy, '13; B. P. Davis, '13; W. D. Horner, '13; F. H. Hurni, '13; W. S. Kew, '13; S. W. Newman, '13; R. L. Pendleton, '13; Chester Stock, '14; F. B. Taylor, '14; and H. E. Gilkey, '15.

The University of California chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, the educational honor society, was instituted on March 15. The initiates were: From the faculty: Professors A. F. Lange, I. W. Howerth, C. E. Rugh, W. S. Thomas, and R. G. Boone. From the student body: P. E. Rowell, '06; W. K. Woolery, '08; P. F. Valentine, '09; J. A. Kell, '10; G. C. Jensen, '11; W. S. Wake, '11; T. B. Kittredge, '12; C. A. Brown, '13; W. A. Chessall, '13; H. E. Dickson, '13; Paul Fleming, '13; C. L. Hampton, '13; O. S. Hubbard, '13; George Howden, '13; O. R. Hull, '13; D. L. Oberg, '13; I. F. Torrey, '13; P. E. Warren, '13; W. C. Binkley, '14; A. I. Gates, '14; H. G. Hansell, '14; C. A. Harwell, '14; F. A. Schaeffer, '14; and E. F. Smyth, '14.

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Sigma Iota Phi, the civil engineering honor society, on January 24 initiated the following-named: Professors Charles Derleth, Jr., and F. S. Foote; D. M. Baker, '13; T. A. Bither, '13; T. E. Connolly, '13; W. H. Jaenicke, '13; J. H. Price, '13; E. H. Rhodes, '13; R. G. Sproul, '13; K. Q. Volk, '13; E. C. Fitzgerald, '14; H. M. Loy, '14; R. G. Wadsworth, '14, and C. E. Lutz, '14.

The Golden Bear has initiated the following new members: Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt, Dean of the College of Medicine; H. A. Fletcher, '12; L. M. Morris, '13; L. A. Myers, '13; D. O. Brant, '13.

Winged Helmet, the Junior honor society, has initiated the following-named new members: Professor David Prescott Barrows, L. W. Georgeson, '14; Milton Marks, '14; T. C. Hutton, '14; A. R. Pohli, '14; K. L. Blanchard, '14; and K. S. Hazeltine, '14.

Undergraduate Matters

The University Parliamentary Society, organized for discussion of questions of the day, held a meeting in Hearst Hall on March 6 with Professor Henry Morse Stephens in the chair. The subject was "American Intervention in Mexico." After speeches by Professor David P. Barrows, Professor Thomas H. Reed, J. G. Sweet, '12, and V. F. Collins, '13, the subject was thrown open for discussion from the floor.

The University Cosmopolitan club has been revived and has had a series of interesting meetings. Two organizations of Hindu students and Hindu residents have been organized and have held numerous meetings during the year. The Cathay Club represents the Chinese students of the University.

An organization known as the "Sakura Club" has been formed by students interested in the study of the Japanese language and institutions. The Japanese students enrolled in the University have recently published, in English and in Japanese, their annual "The Lyceum." This is the seventh consecutive year that they have published such an annual.

The women students have organized an Emergency Fund Association, the dues for which are 25c a term. The moneys raised are to be used for loans to self-supporting students obliged to leave college on account of illness.

The women's fraternities are planning a system of coöperative buying.

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The California Journal of Technology, founded originally by Robert Sibley, '03, now Professor of Mechanical Engineering in the University, and conducted successfully for seven years, but then allowed to lapse, has now been revived, with Arthur Bridge, '12, as its Editor, and J. H. Moseley as its Manager.

Brass Tacks has been founded by the League of the Republic. It is a weekly journal devoted to discussion of political and social problems of the day, and to those University matters which are of broader application.

The Glee Club made an expedition during the Christmas holidays, giving concerts in fifteen towns in the San Joaquin Valley and in Southern California. Clinton R. Morse, '96, as director, and twenty-three other men made up the party.

The Executive Committee of the Associated Students has now made three additions to the sports officially recognized. Those previously recognized were baseball, football, track, rowing, and tennis. Now have been added, as "minor sports," basketball, swimming, and soccer football.

The California team defeated Stanford in the two basketball games of this season. In soccer, Stanford won two games and tied the third.

California has withdrawn from the California Rugby Union, because of the feeling that membership therein involved undue hampering of freedom of action as regards football contests on the campus. For next season, Rugby football games have been planned with Stanford, the University of Southern California, a team from the University of California Club of San Francisco, etc. It is felt that the plan of having a number of matches with a team of University of California alumni is especially promising of good results.

Some question having arisen over the interpretation of the football rules, the University of California gave notice to Stanford of an abrogation of the section of the intercollegiate agreement dealing with football. The questions at issue have since been happily brought into a fair way for settlement by agreement that a Football Rules Committee, consisting of the coach, captain, and one alumnus of each of the two Universities, shall prepare rules which shall remain in force except as amended by this committee.

A question which is causing much discussion among the students is the advisability of not allowing freshmen to represent the University on intercollegiate teams. Stanford is not as yet in favor of such a regulation.

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During the present spring, the rifle team has been engaged in competitive shoots with other Universities throughout the country which maintain military departments.

The Associated Students discussed the project of having five baseball games with Stanford each year, instead of three, but the plan was voted down by the students as constituting an undue lengthening of the training season and as involving undue interference with University work.

An agreement has been entered into with the University of Southern California providing for annual contests in Rugby football, baseball, and track. There will be yearly contests in Los Angeles between the respective 'varsities in Rugby and track; a contest between the 'varsity nines in baseball; and yearly contests at Berkeley between the University of Southern California 'varsity teams in these sports and the University of California freshman teams.

Thomas Milton Putnam, '97, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, has been appointed by President Wheeler to the responsible task of faculty representative on the Executive Committee of the Associated Students, to succeed Professor Edmond O'Neill, who had asked to be relieved after ten years of invaluable service in this capacity.

Harold P. Nachtrieb, '14, was appointed to succeed G. H. Sweet, '14, as Secretary of the Associated Students.

The annual baseball game between the Faculty and the Skull and Keys Society resulted, as is invariably the case, in a tie score, 7 to 7. The game was for the benefit of the proposed eastern trip that the track team will make in order to enter the I. C. A. A. A. A. meet in the Harvard stadium in June—the chief yearly event of the sort in America.

The Class of 1913 was winner in the interclass regatta on February 15.

F. Goldman, '13, was winner of the fall chess tournament.

W. R. Greig has been elected President of the Senior Class, and C. W. Snook its Secretary.

E. K. Sturgis has been elected President and A. W. Christie Secretary of the Class of 1915.

H. W. Fleming, '14, has been elected President of the Y. M. C. A.

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The English Club has re-elected R. A. Silent as its President. At its January initiation it received into membership the following named: L. E. Goodman, '13; N. L. McLaren, '14; A. W. Drury, '14; Clotilde Grunsky, '14; K. T. Perkins, '14; R. G. Ham, '14.

The Class of 1915 has approved of the plan of electing its editor and manager on the basis of merit, as shown in actual work performed on the Blue and Gold of the previous class.

Victor C. Gaines, '13, was winner of the competition for the 1913 Senior Extravaganza. S. F. Bryan, '13, is the author of the music.

A large number of students enrolled in the Department of Political Science paid a visit to Sacramento to watch the Legislature in session and to see something of the seat of government in California.

University of California Club

The University of California Club of San Francisco has had a great growth in membership under the administration of its present President, Dr. Milton T. Farmer. It has frequent club dinners and other gatherings. At a recent dinner the guest of honor was Judge Curtis M. Lindley, who spoke on the college man's duty to the community.

Gifts to the University

Large gifts have recently been assured to the University for the erection in San Francisco of new quarters for the University Hospital, as a part of the equipment of the Medical Department, and for the development of instruction and research in medicine.

By gift of the late Charles L. Ackermann, the University has received oil paintings and pastels of Mr. Ackermann's great grandfather, Johann Christopher Ackermann, born February 26, 1726, and of his grandmother, Maria Christina Goeppelein, born February 15, 1740; the second wife of Johann Ackermann (records lost); and of the grandfather of the donor, Carl Ludwig Wilhelm Ackermann, born December 14, 1774, died June 19, 1826; miniatures of the grandfather, Carl Ludwig Wilhelm Ackermann, and of the grandmother, Carolina Geyer, born November 13, 1790, died December 23, 1853; miniatures of the great grand-uncle of the donor, Ludwig Geyer, born 1764, died 1832, and of the great-grand-aunt, Marianna Geyer, née Tripp, born 1768, died 1828 (these two framed together); a silhouette of Carl Ludwig Wilhelm Ackermann, and

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an autograph album owned by Carl Ludwig Ackermann while a student at the University of Marburg, Germany, in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Alexander Agassiz Estate has given $300 for further development of the results of the University's coöperation, through Professor C. A. Kofoid, in the Agassiz Expedition to the South Seas.

The Alameda County Law Library has given to the Library of the School of Jurisprudence the records in 486 cases before the California Supreme Court between the years 1890 and 1906.

An alumnus has given $4000 for the Library. Of this, $2800 is for endowment, the income to be devoted to the purchase of books in History, Philosophy, and Belles-lettres, while $1200 is for special purchases of works in History.

R. A. Berry has given to the Library of the School of Jurisprudence five volumes of Judge Coffey's Probate Decisions.

W. I. Brobeck has given to the Library of the School of Jurisprudence seven volumes of Thompson on Negligence.

Mrs. D. S. Brownsill has given to the University the skin of a cassowary from Dutch New Guinea.

The Ministry of Public Instruction of the Republic of France has presented to the University a number of volumes recording the results of scientific explorations in Tunisia, archaeological work in Tunisia, studies of Byzantine influence in Africa, archaeological explorations in Algeria and the history of Roman and early Christian times in Northern Africa and also publications of French scientific missions to Mexico and Central America.

A friend of the University has provided $605 for the remuneration of Miss Mayde Hatch as Assistant in Physical Culture. Miss Hatch came from Boston to aid in the training for the dances in this year's Partheneia.

Mr. F. C. Havens, Regent P. E. Bowles, and other friends of the University have given more than 20,000 trees for planting the portion of the University campus stretching east for nearly two miles from the Greek Theatre, which includes most of the watershed of Strawberry Cañon.

Regent Phoebe A. Hearst has given $500 as a contribution toward the salary of the Supervising Architect from January 1 to June 30, 1913.

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Mrs. Mary E. Hooper has given an Alaskan Indian basket, presenting it in the name of her deceased daughter, Ethel A. Hooper, once a graduate student at this University.

The Supervisors of Imperial County have deeded to the Regents ten acres of fertile land, adjoining the twenty acres near Meloland given by Imperial County a year ago as an experiment station. Here experiments are in progress as to the raising of cotton, grapes, date palms, alfalfa, and other crops appropriate to the reclaimed desert. Included in this latest gift was ten shares of stock of the Imperial Southside Water Company.

Through final distribution of the estate, the Regents have now received $100,000 bequeathed to the University by Mrs. Carrie M. Jones of Los Angeles as endowment for the "Carrie M. Jones Scholarship Fund." Mrs. Jones directed that the Regents should invest this $100,000 in safe interest-bearing securities, and apply the income to the assistance, maintenance, and education of male students of the University of California, subject to the rights of the Regents to make such regulations as to the beneficiaries of the fund as in their judgment seems reasonable, subject, however, to the following conditions: "That the beneficiary shall be qualified under the rules and regulations then in force to admission to the University; that beneficiaries shall be those unable without such financial assistance to continue or pursue their studies at the University of California; and that the income shall be applied preferably to students whose purpose and intention is to complete the full course and not to students who propose to enter for a short term."

A group of members of the faculty of the School of Jurisprudence have given a number of engravings to be hung on the walls of Boalt Hall of Law, including engravings of Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Thomas Moore, Sir Francis Bacon, and Lord Talbot, etchings of Joseph Story and Lemuel Shaw by King, a photogravure of John Marshall, a photograph of an engraving of Lord Ellenborough, and photographs of the figures of Justice and of Jurisprudence in the Vatican. The donors were Professors Jones, McMurray, and Kidd, Instructor Lynch, and Lecturers Griffiths, Tasheira, and Thelen.

The recipients of the degree of J.D. in 1912 from the School of Jurisprudence have given for Boalt Hall of Law a photograph of Rufus Choate.

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Allan P. Matthew has given to the Library of the School of Jurisprudence nineteen volumes of records in the Minnesota rate cases.

Dr. William S. Meyers of New York has given $300 to the Agricultural Department in completion of his total gift of $600 for experiments on nitrogenous fertilizers.

There has recently been received from Mr. Ogden Mills $5000 for the continuation of the D. O. Mills Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere, which, at its observing station near Santiago, is conducting important studies as to the motion of stars in the line of sight.

The Napa Seminary Club has given $100 as an addition to the $300 given in January, 1912, as endowment for the Napa Seminary Club Loan Fund.

The new course for the professional training of gas engineers was inaugurated February 3 with an address by Regent John A. Britton, vice-president and general manager of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. With the $2700 given by the Pacific Coast Gas Association as the first of five annual contributions of the same amount, the following work is to be done: A complete crude oil water-gas set is to be installed in the Hearst Memorial Mining Building; laboratory supplies and apparatus provided, and books on gas manufacture and distribution provided for the library. The equipment is sufficient in size for experiments for the determination of the thermal efficiency of oils and the efficiency of refractory materials such as fire-brick, entering into the construction of generators. The Chemistry Department is coöperating with the Engineering Department in such matters as the chemical analyses of gases and materials. A number of leading experts in gas engineering are coöperating with Professor Robert N. Sibley, who is in charge of the course, by lecturing on the different aspects of gas engineering. Beginning with 1914 a portion of the gift will be applied to the employment of instructors in gas engineering. Seventeen students are now enrolled, of whom twelve plan to make gas engineering their profession.

The following gifts have been made for the purpose of carrying on excavations in the fossil beds of Rancho La Brea, near Los Angeles: Regent P. E. Bowles, $300; Regent John A. Britton, $50; Regent William H. Crocker, $550; Regent F. W. Dohrmann, $50; Regent A. W. Foster, $100; Mr. Walter S. Martin, $20; Regent G. W. McEnerney, $100; Regent James K. Moffitt, $100; Regent Charles S. Wheeler, $100.

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Miss Ellen B. Scripps has made provision for the building of twelve cottages on the lands of the Scripps Institution for Biological Research at La Jolla, to provide dwellings for the members of the scientific and mechanical staff of the Institution.

Mr. Justice Shaw has presented to the Library of the School of Jurisprudence a complete set of the Supreme Court records since 1906.

The Southern Pacific Company has given free transportation from Oakdale to Goleta for lime to be used in coöperative experiments under the direction of the Department of Agriculture.

In memory of Rev. Dr. Horatio Stebbins, a Regent of the University of California from 1868 to 1894, $5000 has been given as endowment for the Horatio Stebbins Scholarship Fund.

Harry L. Titus has given to the Library of the School of Jurisprudence seven volumes of Thompson on Corporations.

Raphael Weill gave $150 to provide for three lectures at the University by the distinguished French critic and essayist, M. Firmin Roz.

President Wheeler served for twelve years as trustee for Mrs. Jane K. Sather, holding in her behalf property measuring 100 by 100 feet at the corner of Fourteenth and Washington streets, Oakland. After her death, in accordance with the trust which she had created certain minor gifts were paid to relatives and friends and the balance of the property, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, transferred to the University for the endowment of the Jane K. Sather Chairs in History and in Classical Literature, and for the erection of the Jane K. Sather Campanile. Although entitled to fees for his services as trustee for this important trust over so long a period of years, President Wheeler refused to accept any such fee. The Regents on February 11 extended a vote of thanks to President Wheeler for his services to the University in this Sather trust.

Mrs. G. Whitney has given for Boalt Hall of Law a photograph of Stephen J. Field.

The Berkeley W. C. T. U. has given $50 for a prize for the student writing the best essay on "The Relation of Individual Total Abstinence to the Prosperity of the Nation."

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Grounds and Buildings

Final plans have now been approved for the Jane K. Sather Campanile, for which $200,000 was provided by the bequest of Mrs. Sather, and within the not distant future bids will be invited for the steel work for this great 300-foot granite tower, which is to rise on the site of the present University flagpole. Professor John Galen Howard's designs for the Sather Campanile were one of the most admired features of the spring architectural exhibition in San Francisco.

John McLaren, the landscape gardener, creator of Golden Gate Park, and landscape expert for the Panama-Pacific Exposition, has prepared an elaborate plan for the planting of the campus. These plans were worked out in conference with the Department of Botany, and represent the point of view of both the landscape gardener and the experimental botanist. The planting of the hill lands has been in progress during recent months. The work will result in a great development of some 300 acres of the hill and cañon lands of the University.

The new exhibition gallery of the Architecture Building has proved of great usefulness. Each week a new exhibit is put on display. All the problems rendered by the architectural students are here exhibited and judged. Among the exhibitions already held, since the opening of the gallery early in 1913, have been a collection of German, French, Italian, and English posters, recently gathered in Europe by Mr. F. H. Meyer, Director of the California School of Arts and Crafts in Berkeley; a display of the plans and perspectives for the new schoolhouses in Oakland; a series of exhibitions of photographs of architecture, sculpture, and painting from Italy, Greece, and Egypt, and an exhibition of some two hundred from among the two thousand or more Japanese paintings and prints which form the very remarkable collection gathered by Professor William Dallam Armes. Some thousands of visitors took advantage of the opportunity to see the significant and beautiful works of art included in this Japanese exhibition. At the private view with which it was opened Professor Armes arranged a most interesting programme illustrating Japanese methods of flower arrangement, Japanese dancing, the tea ceremony, methods of painting, etc.

An appropriation of $600 has been made from the Permanent Building Fund for an addition to the buildings of the Students' Observatory on the campus.

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Appointments

Medical Examiner, Dr. William H. Campbell, '08, from January 1, 1913.

Glass-blower in the Department of Chemistry, E. H. Fosdick, from February 15, 1913.

Field Agent in the Frost Damage Survey in Southern California, Carl S. Milliken, from February 1, 1913.

Assistant to the Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, David N. Morgan, '08, from July 1, 1913.

Assistants: Dr. E. Topham, Obstetrics, from March 1, 1913; Dr. Edwin C. Van Dyke, Entomology; Mrs. Marga Von Hungen, German, from March 1, 1913.

Resignations

Medical Examiner, Dr. Newell W. Burns, from December 31, 1912.

Instructor: Arthur B. Domonoske, Mechanical Engineering, from January 31, 1913.

Assistants: Dr. Victor Birckner, Physiological Chemistry, from December 31, 1912; E. B. Shaw, Entomology, from December 31, 1912; Miss Sophia Wolff, German, from February 28, 1913.

Change of Title

Hubert E. Van Norman, Dean of the University Farm School and Vice-Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, has been given the additional title of Professor of Dairy Management.

Lectures at the University

January 15.—Frederick R. Benson, Manager of the annual Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon, and Pageant-Master, "The Art of Pageantry."

January 16.—Miss Anna Klumpke, "Personal Recollections of Rosa Bonheur."

January 16.—S. O. Dunn, Editor of the Railway Age Gazette, "Some Often Overlooked Points in Government Ownership."

January 17.—S. O. Dunn, Editor of the Railway Age Gazette, "Railroad Control by Commission."

January 29.—Regent John A. Britton, the inaugural lecture in the course in Gas Engineering.

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January 31.—J. J. Jessup, City Engineer of Berkeley, "Garbage Incineration and Furnace Construction."

January 31.—George R. Noyes, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, "The Essential Elements in Tolstoy's Ethical and Social Theories." (Before the Philosophical Union.)

February 3.—M. Firmin Roz, "La Crise de la sensibilité française au XVIII[e] siecle. J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du Romantisme."

February 4.—Dr. Eugen Kühnemann, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Breslau, "Schiller und das Deutsche Volk der Gegenwart."

February 4.—M. Firmin Roz, "Les Provinces dans le roman contemporain."

February 5.—G. M. Homans, State Forester of California.

February 5.—M. Firmin Roz, "Le Théatre d'aujourd'hui: ses rapports avec les moeurs contemporains."

February 6.—Dr. Silas F. Johnson, "A Personal Narrative of the Experiences of a Medical Missionary in the German Kameroons, West Africa."

February 14.—William Dallam Armes, Associate Professor of American Literature, "Shakespeare's England."

February 17.—E. C. Jones, of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, a lecture before the class in Gas Engineering.

February 25.—William H. Crane, "The Development of the American Stage during the Last Fifty Years."

February 26.—Cora Mel Patten, a reading of John Galsworthy's "The Pigeon." (Before the English Club.)

February 28.—Regent John A. Britton, "Gas Manufacture." (Before the class in Gas Engineering.)

March 1.—Arthur W. Ryder, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, "The Age and Art of Kalidasa." (Before the Hindu Students' Association.)

March 3.—Robert Stewart, Professor of Chemistry and Vice-Director of the Utah Experiment Station, "The Intensity of Nitrification in Arid Soils."

March 4.—Professor Stewart, "Organic Phosphorus in Soils."

March 5.—A. M. Hunt, "Recent Developments in Mechanical Engineering." (Before the Associated Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.)

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March 5.—Hugo H. Miller, Head of the Industrial Information Department, Bureau of Education of the United States Government in the Philippine Islands, "The Industries of the Philippines, with Particular Reference to the Commerce of the Pacific Coast."

March 5.—Professor Stewart, "The Relation of Agricultural Education to the Food Supply of the Future."

March 7.—Frederick Slate, Professor of Physics, "Refraction; its Outstanding Difficulties." (At a meeting of the Physics Department.)

March 11.—Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, "Judaeo-Hellenistic Literature."

March 17.—Professor William Dallam Armes, "The England of Milton and Dryden."

March 18.—Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, "Judaeo-Palestinean Literature."

March 18.—Dr. Joel Hildebrand, of the University of Pennsylvania, "The Use of the Hydrogen Electrode in Analytical and Technical Chemistry."

March 19.—Dr. Hildebrand, "The Fixation of Nitrogen."

March 22.—Charter Day address by Sir Richard M'Bride, Premier of British Columbia.

March 25.—Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, "The New Testament Literature."

March 28.—Ira B. Cross, Assistant Professor of Economics in Stanford University, "Henry George and the Single Tax." (Before the Philosophical Union.)

University Meetings

January 31.—Bishop Edwin H. Hughes of San Francisco and Dr. Silas F. Johnson, Representative in the Kameroons, West Africa, of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

February 14.—Right Rev. Edward J. Hanna, Auxiliary Bishop of San Francisco.

February 28.—Francis Greenwood Peabody, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University.

March 7.—Henry Van Dyke, Murray Professor of English in Princeton University.

March 14.—Edward Elliott, Professor of Politics in Princeton University, and Mrs. Philip Snowden, of London.

March 28.—Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

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League of the Republic Lectures

January 21.—Thomas H. Reed, Associate Professor of Government, "Political Thought as the Basis of Political Parties."

January 28.—Professor Thomas H. Reed, "The Place of Political Parties in Democratic Government."

February 4.—Ralph P. Merritt, Comptroller of the University of California, "The Needs of the University."

February 11.—David Prescott Barrows, Professor of Political Science, "The Growth of the Republican Party, and its Opportunities as a Party of Opposition."

February 18.—John O. Davis, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, "The Democratic Party; the Opportunities Before It."

February 25 and April 4, 11, and 18.—Irà B. Cross, Assistant Professor of Economics in Stanford University, on the Utopian Socialists, Scientific Socialists, the Syndicalists, and the Anarchists.

Courses of Lectures

Several courses of lectures given during the term have been attended largely by the general public, as well as by the students.

Professor Charles Mills Gayley has lectured on Shakespeare in the Greek Theatre at 2 o'clock on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoons, throughout the term. The attendance has ranged from five hundred to a thousand.

A course of lectures on Modern European Literature has been given on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoons by representatives of the Modern Language group, including Professors J. T. Clark, H. K. Schilling, W. M. Hart, Chauncey W. Wells, Rudolph Schevill, George R. Noyes, Henry Senger, and Gilbert Chinard, and Messrs. Emilio Goggio, H. E. Cory, E. G. Atkin, Alfred Solomon, E. B. Lamare, G. R. MacMinn, and F. T. Blanchard.

Lectures on Local Zoology have been given each Monday afternoon by members of the Zoological group, including Professors William E. Ritter, Charles A. Kofoid, and S. J. Holmes, and Director Joseph A. Grinnell, etc.

At the request of the University Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. President Wheeler gave a series of five New Testament readings at Stiles Hall, beginning March 16. Seniors were given first opportunity by the two Associations to obtain cards for admission, and then other members of the University community.

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The Earl Lectures

Professor Shailer Mathews, D.D., Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, gave the annual E. T. Earl Foundation Lectures of the Pacific Theological Seminary (on "The Social Aspects of Christian Doctrine"), on March 25, 27, and 28, and April 1, 3, and 4.

Lectures at the Museum of Greek Sculpture and Anthropology

(On the Campus at Berkeley, on Sunday afternoons)

February 2.—T. T. Waterman, Instructor in Anthropology, "Art of the Plains Indians of North America."

February 9.—T. T. Waterman, "The Decorative Art of New Guinea."

February 16.—T. T. Waterman, "The Decorative Art of the Alaskan Indians."

February 23.—T. T. Waterman, "Conventionalization in Primitive Art."

March 2.—A. L. Kroeber, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Curator of the Anthropological Museum, "Before the Incas of Peru."

March 9.—Oliver M. Washburn, Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeology, "Color in Greek Art."

March 16.—E. W. Gifford, "The Evolution of Marriage."

March 23.—Professor Washburn, "The Greek Vase Painter's Art."

Lectures at the Museum of Anthropology

(Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, on Sunday afternoons)

January 12.—E. W. Gifford, Assistant Curator of the Anthropological Museum, "The Rise of Woman."

January 19.—E. W. Gifford, "Woman as an Industrial Factor in the Evolution of the Race."

January 26.—E. W. Gifford, "Woman as a Social Factor in the Evolution of the Race."

February 2.—E. W. Gifford, "Woman as a Religious Factor in the Evolution of the Race."

February 9.—E. W. Gifford, "The Evolution of Marriage."

February 16.—E. W. Gifford, "The Rise of Woman."

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February 23.—E. W. Gifford, "The Indians of the Terraced Houses."

March 2.—E. W. Gifford, "The Rise of Woman."

March 9.—E. W. Gifford, "The Indians of California."

March 16.—Professor Kroeber, "The Great Oceanic Races."

March 23.—T. T. Waterman, "In Darkest New Guinea."

March 30.—Professor Kroeber, "The Malaysians and their Civilization."

The Half-Hour of Music

(In the Greek Theatre, Sunday afternoons)

March 2.—The Sierra Mixed Quartet, Zilpha Ruggles Jenkins, soprano; Carl Edwin Anderson, tenor; Ruth Waterman Anderson, contralto; Lowell Moore Redfield, baritone; Mabel Hill Redfield, accompanist.

March 9.—The Wednesday Morning Choral Club (Mrs. Walter H. Henry, president; Paul Steindorff, director; Mrs. Mabel Hill Redfield, accompanist).

March 16.—Miss Ruth Bowers, soprano; Earl Parrish, tenor; Leon Ettinger, baritone; and J. C. Armstrong, accompanist.

March 30.—The University of California Glee Club, assisted by the Berkeley Singers' Club; Clinton R. Morse, director; Roscoe Warren Lucy, accompanist.

Other Musical and Dramatic Events

February 11.—Mischa Elman, the Russian violinist (Percy Kahn, accompanist), concert before the Berkeley Musical Association.

March 14.—"The Fortune Hunter," presented by the Mask and Dagger Society at the Macdonough Theatre in Oakland.

March 21.—Rossini's "Stabat Mater," presented in the Greek, Theatre with a chorus of 200 singers from musical clubs about San Francisco Bay, with full orchestra, under the direction of Paul Steindorff, Choragus in the University of California.

March 27.—Joseph Lhevinne, the Russian pianist, a concert before the Berkeley Musical Association.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

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ADDRESS TO GRADUATING CLASS 1913

BENJ. IDE WHEELER

Resistlessly the generations come trooping up to take the place of those which climb up the hill and vanish behind the ridge. Each takes its brief turn at ownership of the world's accumulated store and at control of the institution of human society—then goes its way. Commencement is the day above all days which forces this stern procession upon our notice. And now here comes the class of 1913 pushing before it the class 1912, and along with 1912 all the others of us, and there is no escape. The young fold mostly think that system of possessions and losses, honors and mishaps, which we call 'the world' moves by us like a panorama while we stand and gaze, whereas the real truth is that 'the world' stands calmly still, while we by classes and generations in long unending line are merely marching through it and using it according to our turn. It is the generations that unroll, rather than the fates.

The chief significance of this day is that you of 1913 today enter upon the beginnings of your trusteeship for the joint administration and use of that accumulated store of goods and manners which we identify as human society. The chief thing I would like to say to you today I say to you as individuals: Make the purposes of your single lives conform with the interests of society as a whole. Do not follow an occupation which compels you to impair or endanger in any degree or form the precious store accumulated from the labor of the past or held in trust for the well-being of the future. Do not follow an occupation

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which does not give you continual opportunity to protect and enhance the common store of the commonwealth. This is what it honestly means to be a conservationist. You must make it the habit and inherent purpose, not the mere incidental use, of your life to build up the social structure; you must set yourself resolutely against all destroying, no matter what the pressure or appearance of temporary gain. Otherwise when you come at the end to cast up the account of your life, you will find no satisfaction in it; your gold will be a burden of shame, and your successes gall and wormwood.

Now I presume many of you are saying to yourselves: We are opposed to waste; of course we shall be conservationists—it is the one natural thing to be. But beware. It is not easy and natural. Wait until you are for instance stockholder or engineer in a dredging company which tears up the fertile soil of the valleys, extracts the gold once for all, and leaves a desert of boulders behind as the portion of all the succeeding generations. Wait and see how you begin to sophisticate with yourself. First you will talk about this great annual addition to the wealth of the community. But what does the community get in return for having its fields ruined forever? Does it receive a proportionate part of the output? Not that I have ever heard of, not even a meagre 2 per cent. Is there anything to prevent taking the money entirely away from the community? Nothing whatsoever. Look at Dutch Flat. None of the gold taken from its scarred hillsides seems to have stayed long in town. Once it is out of the ground, there is nothing to prevent its taking wing for a New York Trust Co., or even going straight to England to buy one's daughter a duke.

This is all very silly, but it is just such silly things you will say when you once find yourself enrolled with the 'ins'. The entrenched are not generally ardent reformers. Between conservationists and conservatives there is "a deep gulf fixed."

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After you find yourself enrolled with the 'ins' you will also begin to talk about the "development of the country," when you really mean the development of your own fortunes. One of the methods of development you are likely to have in mind is the seizure of some of the great natural resources of the country, taking them away from the uses of all the coming generations, without even paying rent for them. Mexico offers a good illustration of the benign influence of "Attracting capital for the development of the country." The form of capital which the under-populated Western States require is thrifty families planted on small farms. Raw capital in the Trust Company form isolated from the human life-blood form of families is likely to involve a sad kind of development for our country districts.

After you find yourself enrolled with the 'ins,' there is still another form of self-deception to which you will prove peculiarly vulnerable. You will easily fall into the habit of thinking, that, in business procedure, whatever the law allows is right to do. Through repeated appeals to legal decisions and especially under the guidance of light-winged and supple-minded practitioners of deficient moral consciousness you are likely to dull your own conscience into the acceptance for daily use of a legal righteousness to displace that moral righteousness in which alone society is ultimately conserved. There is no higher service now being rendered to society than that now being rendered by our courts in unraveling the tangled conditions of our complicated modern life and establishing such equitable balance as they may between taking and yielding but still these are generalized decisions framed to cover general conditions, and the individual conscience in the individual case has not thereby been excused from duty. But whatever may be said concerning these conflicting considerations, be sure of this much: whatever you do which falls short of honest

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right you do at the ultimate cost of society. You have by so much impaired the social store.

Wherever there is destruction or waste of the world's resources, and no matter who is responsible for the deed, we shall all of us sooner or later have to contribute our part toward making it up. We saw how in 1906-7 all the world was affected by the enormous destruction of property in the San Francisco fire. The panic of 1907 was one outward evidence of the liquidating process. For two or three years the whole world was busy apportioning out the assessments and enforcing payment. We have got to go down into our pockets now and pay for this Balkan War. It is a long way off, but sooner or later, in one way or another, we shall have to help foot the bill. What is true at the distance is true in enhanced degree near at home. It is to your direct interest that the town in which you live should be orderly and clean. All disorder, violence, injustice, and immorality involve social waste and will make your town not only less lovely, but also less profitable to dwell in. Pray do not start out with the idea that you will craftily consult your own interest and let the town look out for itself. It is the wrong idea of life. The next step will find you preying on the frailties of the community and even on its pollutions. That is the way of the vulture.

Do not allow yourself to think that by some form of livelihood you have adopted you are excused from following the social ideal of life. The thing which I am talking about goes with all the livelihoods, in fact with just plain living. It is a poor outlook for a community when it has professionalized all its "uplift" exercises and relegated them into the hands alone of clergymen, teachers, and disengaged women. The clergymen need your help; so do the teachers. If these people do not have the support of the laity how can we blame them if they drop into the barren ruts of perfunctoriness. If you are a teacher yourself, beware of perfunctori-

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ness. You can so easily decline, after the first year, into merely holding the job. If you are not really interested in the lives of your pupils and not ready to give generously of yourself far beyond what is nominated in the bond, they will surely find you out, and it will be a hard job to hold. It is a great old world to live in, brim full of opportunities for people who have courage and cheer, and love the truth, and want to work, and are ready to serve. But it is a cold, hard world for such as live to themselves alone.

My preachment is now at an end. If you have discerned rightly the purport of its lesson you will have recognized that it is nothing more or less than the old lesson of loyalty and service you have been learning here at the firesides of your Alma Mater. You have learned it not only by iteration and reiteration of doctrine, but by doing the deeds and living the life. In living, concrete cases you know what it means to humble personal choices before the interests of a community. You will soon know, if you do not already, that this is the best lesson you have learned here. It saves souls. It saves institutions. It saves the commonwealth.

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COMMENCEMENT EVE

GEORGE F. RICHARDSON

All's over:
The last echo of the last song has died;
Across the field
Dark shapes of the last stragglers glide
Homeward bound.
Darkness and silence, and a silent long farewell;
All's over.

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THE LONDON SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

BERNARD MOSES

The International Congress of Historical Studies is said to have had its origin in the ideas of a group of distinguished French historical scholars, and to have held its first session at the Hague. It reassembled, in 1903, at Rome. The next session was held in Berlin in 1908, and now, five years later, the London session has concluded its labors. The members came together, and were received by the Royal Historical Society at a banquet on the evening of the first of April; but the Inaugural Meeting of the Congress was not held until the morning of April 3. This meeting was in the Great Hall, Lincoln's Inn. The Presidential Address, in the absence of the president, Mr. James Bryce, was read by the acting-president, Dr. A. W. Ward. The following abstract conveys a general idea of the presidential address.

"Mr. Bryce said that in the scheme of work laid out for the Congress all the main lines of human activity were included as departments of historical study. Some of those departments had now been so developed as to cover almost as much ground and to provide material for as much discussion as history altogether, then chiefly political, did for men in the generation of Guizot and Thierry, of Hallam and Ranke. This widening of their field might be primarily due to a larger conception of History, which they had now come to regard as a record of every form of human effort

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and achievement, concerned not any more definitely with political events and institutions than with all the other factors that had moulded man and all the other expressions his creative activity had found. As instances of this enlargement he might advert to the fuller recognition of the importance of the economic factor in national development, and to the juster perception of what might be gained from a study of the psychology of races and peoples in the successive stages of their growth. Nor ought it to be forgotten that with the transfer of power in some countries to the many from the few there had come a quickened interest in the condition in former days of those whom Carlyle called "the dumb populations." He had to ask permission to speak as a traveller rather than as a student of MSS. or of printed books. To wander through strange countries and see what Nature had given to their peoples and what the peoples had made of Nature was one way, and not the worst way, of approaching history. The earliest chronicler whose work had come down to them was a traveller. That which Herodotus told them of the physical aspects of the countries he visited and their races and their customs was at least as precious as his narratives of the Ionic revolt and the great Persian war. Now what was it that the traveller saw to-day in India, in Africa, in the two Americas, in Australasia, and the isles of the Pacific? He saw the smaller, weaker, and more backward races changing or vanishing under the impact of civilized man; their languages disappearing; their religious beliefs withering; their tribal organizations dissolving; their customs fading slowly away, first from use and then from memory. Some tribes, like the warlike Araucanians of Chile, were dying out by disease. Others, like the Red Indians of Oklahoma and the Maoris of New Zealand, were being absorbed into the white population. Others, again, like the Finnish tribes of North-East Russia, were being insensibly permeated by the customs and language of their more numerous neighbors, so as to lose whatever racial quality they had. From the blending of others with immigrants streaming in a hybrid race was growing up, in which, as in the case of the mixture of Chinese with the natives of Tahiti and Hawaii, the stronger and more civilized element seemed fated to predominate. In other cases peoples too large and powerful to lose their individuality were nevertheless beginning to be

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so affected by European influences as to find themselves passing into a new circle of ideas and a new set of institutions. Change was everywhere, and the process of change was so rapid that the past would soon be forgotten. It was a past the like of which could never recur. Ethnologists, philologists, and students of folklore were at work recording those expiring forms of speech and embodiments in custom of primitive human thought; and not a moment should be lost in saving the precious relics. But historians had also their duty and function in this field, for many of its phenomena were of high significance for history.

"There was one other aspect of the present age of the world that had a profound and novel meaning for the historian. The world was becoming one in an altogether new sense. More than four centuries ago the discovery of America marked the first step in the process by which the European races had now gained dominion over nearly the whole of the earth. The last great step in that process was the partition of Africa between three European Powers a little more than twenty years ago. Now, almost every part of the earth's surface, except the territories of China and Japan, was either owner or controlled by five or six European races. Eight Great Powers swayed the political destinies of the globe, and there were only two other countries that could be thought of as likely to enter after a while into the rank of Great Powers. Similarly, a few European tongues had overspread all the Continents, except Asia, and even there it seemed probable that those few European tongues would before long be learnt and used by the educated classes in such wise as to bring those classes into touch with European ideas. It was likely that by A. D. 2000 more than nine-tenths of the human race would be speaking less than twenty languages. Already there were practically only four great religions in the world. Within a century the minor religions might have gone; and possibly only three great faiths would remain, with such accelerated swiftness did change now move. Those things which were already strong were growing stronger; those already weak grew weaker and were ready to vanish away. Thus, as the earth had been narrowed through the new forces science had placed at their disposal, and as the larger human groups absorbed or assimilated the smaller, the movements of politics, of economics, and of thought in each of its regions became more closely interwoven with those of every

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other. Whatever happened in any part of the globe had now a significance for every other part. Industrial disputes were felt more widely over its surface than those earthquakes in Java which the seismograph recorded at Washington. The money markets were affected simultaneously. Each Great Power, were it European, Asiatic, or American, was in close contact with all the others; it was allied, or friendly (or possibly not too friendly) with some one or more of the others. The great wave that swung round the world made its last ripples felt in the world's remotest corner. In regions till lately unexplored, in the sombre depths of African or Brazilian forests, or on the oases that lay scattered along the dreary deserts of Mongolia, the fortunes of the native tribes were affected by what passed in European capitals. Even in the one continent which stood almost wholly outside the web of international relations, South America, finance reached where politics did not reach. Finance, even more than politics, had now made the world one community, and finance was more closely interwoven with politics than ever before. The historian, who in the days of Thucydides needed to look no further than to Susa on the East and Carthage on the West, had now to extend his vision to take in the whole earth, and would not be able to write the annals of any one country without keeping his eye fixed on the Sovereigns and Parliaments of every other. Nor was there a more striking illustration of the influence now exerted by the European races upon all others than was presented in the fact that in every other country, except those which were ruled as subject dominions by some people of European stock, there now existed some kind of form (even if little more than a form) of representative government. World history was tending to become one history, the history no longer of many different races of mankind occasionally affecting one another's fortunes, but the history of mankind as a whole, the fortunes of each branch henceforth bound up with those of the others. In these conditions, the historian of the future would need an amplitude of conception and a power of grouping his figures like that of Tintoretto or Michael Angelo, if he were to handle so vast a canvas."

After the presidential address had been read, speeches, intended to be short, were made by delegates from Germany, France and the United States. Sir George Trevelyan then

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moved to confirm the president and the acting-president in their offices, and in support of this motion speeches were made by the Greek minister and by the Chilean minister. All of the speeches of this opening meeting were in English, except that by Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who spoke in German. In the meetings of the Congress, a speaker or the reader of a paper may use any one of four languages, English, French, German or Italian. Of two hundred papers read, one hundred and forty-three were in English; twenty-nine were in French; twenty-six were in German, and two were in Italian. The English papers were not all by British subjects or by citizens of the United States; nor were the French papers all by Frenchmen. Some of the Germans spoke in English, and some of the delegates spoke in French, although this language was evidently not their native speech. With few exceptions, the use of a language which was not the speaker's native language was attended with only indifferent results. There are other forms of amusement more attractive than listening to a discourse or an after-dinner speech made in a language which the speaker does not know well enough to enable him avoid the impression of having made a diligent use of the dictionary. There is something in speech that is not revealed by the grammar or the dictionary, or even by the process of scientific dissection characteristic of the instruction in English in American universities. That instruction is like searching for the human spirit with the scalpel. Spain not being one of the "great powers," Professor Altamira spoke in French, and thus, instead of a finished discourse in the most beautiful language of Europe, the audience was obliged to listen to a presentation of his subject in French, which was entirely unworthy of the author's reputation as a writer.

The Russians have suggested that the Russian language should be made one of the official languages of the Congress, and the question has been referred to the members of a committee for their consideration. The memorial in favor

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of adding Russian to the languages now used by the Congress calls attention to the fact that for nearly two thousand years general meetings of Europeans employed a single language that was common to all the scholars of the various nations, but that the present involuntary tendency is apparently toward a babel of tongues; with the inference that having accepted four there is no valid reason for not accepting others. It is not suggested that Russian should be used, for example, at a session of the Congress in England in discussing the history of Cromwell, but that it would be eminently appropriate to use it in dealing with purely Russian subjects. Moreover, as the representatives of the Germanic peoples have two languages, and the Latin peoples two, the representatives of the Slav peoples should also have two; and Russia with its one hundred million of inhabitants suggests that its language should be one of these. No people can be fully represented in the Congress, which must resort to the use of a foreign language, and the international character of the Congress is not realized, if those persons who should present the history of the Slav nations must remain dumb.

The list of the subjects of the papers read furnishes an interesting indication of the topics that are engaging the attention of a large number of the most distinguished historical scholars of the world. They range the field of historical inquiry from the Hittite Civilization in Syria to the effort of the United States to infuse somewhat of the democratic spirit into the control of an oriental dependency. An innovation of the London session of the Congress was the organization of a section for the consideration of subjects relating to colonies. The papers presented in this section were noteworthy as revealing the different points of view of the colonizing nations. The dominant ideas of the Dutch and German colonization as shown by papers read by representatives of these states were the ideas of the seventeenth century. The German paper gave no indication of the fact that colonial dependencies are occupied by persons with the interests and hopes of ordinary human beings. It

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presented a system of training for German colonial officials; but the detailed exposition of this system was sufficient to convince one that a person who had been thoroughly trained under it would be completely unfitted for the proper work of a civil official in a colonial dependency. Its fundamental aim seemed to be to set forth a course of instruction that would facilitate the exploitation of regions occupied by the less developed races. The paper on the Dutch colonies of the East Indies, particularly on Java, was a well written elucidation of the tradition that the Dutch, by their culture system, their enforced plantation labor, and the general subjection of the natives to the economic necessities of the Dutch government, had solved the problem of colonial rule. It did not emphasize the fact that while the Dutch government had drawn immense revenues from Java during the three hundred years of Dutch rule since 1610, the individual Javanese of the present give no evidence of any considerable progress in education or general enlightenment during the period of Dutch administration. The paper on the relation of the United States to the Philippine Islands set forth the efforts of the Americans in behalf of the education of the islanders, the preservation of internal peace, and the extension of facilities for material progress—a programme, which from the European point of view, still appears to be more or less utopian.

The Congress suffered greatly in having no common building, or group of buildings, for all its general and sectional meetings. These meetings were held in different parts of the city and the foreign delegate experienced great difficulty in finding the meeting place of the section in which he was especially interested and most of the other sections met in regions that were unknown to him. It was physically impossible to listen to a number of papers one might select from the programmes of the different sections. This state of things was avoided at the session in Berlin, where all of the sections met in different parts of a single building. The management, moreover, had apparently forgotten the existence of that rather convenient

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modern institution known as the post office. If a delegate wished the cards, letters, invitations, or documents of any sort designed for him, he was compelled to make a journey to one or another of the offices of administration, and interview a series of clerks; and these journeys, in order to be fruitful had to be made within a very brief period before the time set for the function at which his presence was expected. For the sake of economy or for some other reason, the offices of the administration were rented under conditions which required them to be closed promptly at six o'clock; so that the delegate who became indiscreetly interested in the discussions of his section, and arrived at the office a minute after six, found the door closed and his invitation cards for the next day out of reach on the inside. These were sometimes sent to him by post, when he had not called for them, but not until it was too late for them to reach him in time to be used by him, when the events to which they referred had entered into the realm of history.

The formal social functions, such as the Government's dinner at Hotel Cecil, the big subscription dinner, and the crowded receptions, were like all events of their kind. Custom has so far conventionalized them, that unless they are marked by unusually brilliant speaking, they fail to make any distinct impression on the mind. The private dinners of small companies were the most agreeable events connected with the social side of the Congress. Probably the five or six Americans who met an equal number of other guests at Sir Sidney Lee's dinner at the club, found it more agreeably entertaining than many more pretentious meetings. The tea at Windsor Castle, to which the delegates were invited, fell on an exceptionally fine day, and this fact greatly enhanced the pleasure of the excursion as well as the guests' appreciation of the king's hospitality. On the 9th of April, the delegates were received and entertained at Cambridge and Oxford as a final expression of British hospitality extended to the members of the International Congress of Historical Studies.

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THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BERNARD MOSES

The relation of the Far East to the West is becoming a subject of historical inquiry. It presents for consideration efforts to adjust unlike racial ideas and traditions, and to find forms of social order acceptable to both the Orient and the Occident. The relation of the United States to the Philippine Islands is a phase of this subject. Reference to it at this time is justified on the ground that this instance of contact between the West and the East differs in certain particulars from other instances that have long been under historical investigation. The policy pursued by the United States, in dealing with the Filipino people, has naturally been determined by the ideas that have found more or less complete expression in American society and government; and it is for this reason that some features of this policy indicate a departure from the models of colonial rule approved by the political wisdom of European nations. From their original aristocratic forms and aristocratic sympathies, the majority of European governments have turned towards democratic provision for the welfare of the mass of the people only as an historical second thought. The American government, on the other hand, created by the people, has from the beginning aimed at the welfare of the whole people. Whatever may have been the practical

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consequences of its legislation, it has at no period designed to concede special privileges to any class. Americans, influenced by their political experience, are necessarily inclined, in framing or modifying subordinate governments, to lay stress on institutions and measures having a democratic purpose. The government framed by them for the Philippine Islands illustrates this fact. It injects somewhat of the democratic spirit into the control of an oriental people.

The United States, in creating this government, recognized that the Filipinos are members of an alien race, whose thoughts are not our thoughts; that their existence and the existence of their ancestors for uncounted generations have been passed in the atmosphere, and under the influences proceeding from the spirit, of the Orient; and that for nearly four hundred years they were dominated by Spain under ecclesiastico-secular institutions which were emphatically undemocratic. It was not assumed that the great gulf which separates the East from the West could be completely bridged; but it was assumed that, under proper instruction, the Filipinos might receive certain practical ideas from a liberal Western nation, which would give them an impulse towards a better social state. In providing such instruction, it is important to know at what point to begin, and what not to attempt. In dealing with the less developed races, whether on the American continent or in the Philippine Islands, the Spaniards, by seeking to change the most fundamental and permanent of all racial ideas, the ideas of religion, began at a point where success was impossible. They appeared to think that when the Filipinos or the Indians were baptized and brought into the church, their minds were immediately enabled to grasp the fundamental features of that intricate system of thought known as Christian doctrine, and that by this process of they were civilized. The ecclesiastico-political power of the Spaniards produced outward compliance with certain forms decreed by the church, but it was not able to transfer to the Oriental mind the Western conception of the unseen, spiritual world.

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When, therefore, all governmental pressure was removed from ecclesiastical affairs by the separation of the church and the state under the American régime, some districts witnessed remarkable religious manifestations. Hundreds and in some instances thousands abandoned their ordinary occupations to follow self-announced religious leaders, whose strange ideas indicated a reversion to the barbaric notions of their pagan ancestors.

The Americans, following their traditional policy, held that much can be done for the advancement and cultivation of a people without interfering with its religious practices or imposing upon it a specific religious creed. They have relied, therefore, on secular means for promoting the progress of the Filipinos, and directed their efforts to the task of communicating to the islanders a knowledge of the practical achievements of the Western nations. In order to do this effectively they sought to give the people some measure of intellectual unity, and to open a channel of thought between them and the peoples of the West. They found that the inhabitants of the islands had no common language, and that consequently they were divided into a number of antagonistic groups, which are as unlike one another as are the nations of Europe. Occupying different parts of the insular territory and speaking different languages, the ideas of each group were narrowly confined to its petty provincial affairs. The practical remedy adopted for this state of things was to give the Filipinos power to use a common language, and through this to substitute social sympathy for social antagonism, and thus provide for the creation of an extensive political society. It was found, moreover, that all but a small percentage of the Filipinos were ignorant of the language of any civilized people, and that they were consequently unable to acquire any valuable information of the ideas and practices of civilization. To give them such a language was to provide for them access to the thoughts that are giving character and direction to the world's progress. In this undertaking it was assumed,

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therefore, that a knowledge of a European language, possessed by at least a considerable part of the inhabitants of the islands, is essential to the progress of the Filipino people. Without it their fate would be that of the Malay race generally, which, in none of its branches, without assistance, has risen above a low stage of semi-civilization.

It was the policy of the Spaniards in the Philippines and of the Dutch in Java to discourage, if not to prohibit, the natives from acquiring and using the language of the dominant nation. By this procedure, a line of discrimination was drawn, and the native, confined to the use of his own uncultivated speech, was made to feel his inferiority. The determination of the United States not only to permit the Filipinos to use the English language, but also to provide for them the most ample facilities for learning it, was regarded as a concession in favor of fair treatment, if not of equality; and the zeal with which the youth of all classes embraced the opportunity extended to them was an indication of a strong popular desire to have the social prejudices against them abolished.

During the period of Spanish domination in the Philippines, a small middle class, possessing some education and composed chiefly of Eurasians resident in the larger towns, had been careful to seek only such occupations as carried no suggestion of an inferior status. When, therefore, under the authority of the United States, it was proposed that members of this class, through instruction in a trade-school, should learn the proper use of tools, or, as apprentices in the government's printing establishment, should acquire knowledge of the operations of machinery, the suggestion was at first rejected, or received in a manner which indicated the personal conceit of one fearful of losing prestige; in fact, one of the causes of this appearance of conceit was the young Filipino's fear of being placed in a compromising position; and nothing has contributed more towards eradicating this fear than the presence of skilful and well-paid American workmen occupying positions which the Filipino had neither

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the education nor the training to fill. A democracy which produced respected and self-respecting workmen was a new revelation to this class of Filipinos.

The Eurasians of this class in the Philippines present, however, a less serious problem than the members of a similar class in Java, where they are called Europeans, and have been given facilities for holding themselves apart from those natives who have no trace of European blood. The Javanese Eurasian, however slight his European tinge, manifests a sense of superiority to the natives of pure Malay stock, and is reluctant to engage in the ordinary occupations of his community. The Spaniards formally or officially recognized no such distinction; they neither set up nor put down the mestizo, but allowed him freedom to work out his social salvation without factitious hindrance or support. Yet the instruction which members of this class received under Spanish rule, dealing more with religion than with mechanics, left them without much initiative or sense in practical affairs. Though not considered as a class apart, they held the Spaniard's views of what was reputable and what was degrading, and consequently no teaching is more important for their growth in well-being than that which illustrates the American attitude with respect to work.

The form of the Philippine government organized under the authority of the United States, as it regards the office of governor general and the position of the commission, or council, reveals no wide departure from the European tradition. But the elective legislative assembly based on the suffrage of the men who can read and write either Spanish or English, or who have property worth at least five hundred pesos, does not show a close adherence to the practice of Western nations in governing communities of an alien race. The framers of this government were not unmindful of the fact that this part of their work might be regarded as an unwarranted application of democratic doctrine. They were conscious of the limitations of the Filipino people; that, while some of the inhabitants of the islands stood

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among the most advanced members of the Malay race, there were, in addition to these, representatives of various grades of human cultivation down to the status of the untamed Negrito. They were conscious, moreover, that even the small minority of educated persons had not been in a position to acquire an enlightening political experience. From the absolute government of Spain and the still more absolute church, they had not been able to derive any idea of liberty or any conception of the principles on which alone it is possible to establish a free government. At the close of the period of Spanish domination, there were not a score of men born in the islands, who had a conception of government comparable with that entertained by the bulk of the citizens of any one of the more liberal nations of the West. Yet in spite of this ignorance and lack of political experience, the government of the United States has called upon the Filipinos to form and conduct a legislative assembly. The existence of this body, the maintenance of an elaborate system of public schools extending to all parts of the archipelago, and the special encouragement of instruction in manual work furnish some indication of the extent to which the democratic spirit of the United States has made itself effective in the control of this oriental dependency.

At this point one may well inquire whether the work done by the United States in the Philippine Islands is to be viewed as a somewhat radical and temporary experiment in government, or as an indication of a line along which the government of dependencies will develop in the future. Facts bearing upon this question are not difficult to find. Persons belonging to the less developed races, wherever they may be, are eager to obtain, and are obtaining, information about movements designed to ameliorate the condition of the common man. In Java and in the interior of Ceylon, I found men of humble station, who might be expected to have no interest beyond their little shops or their daily occupations, but who, very early, had knowledge of the

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efforts of the United States in behalf of the education of the Filipino people; and, without knowing anything of my relation to the undertaking, expressed a keen appreciation of the purposes of the government. The knowledge acquired by members of these races, by means known only to themselves, and by contact with the increased number of travellers, colonists, and wandering traders who come within their horizon, have caused them to lose their ancient contentment with their semi-civilized state of subjection. The transformation of Japan, her emergence from isolation and the rigid rule of oriental feudalism, and her organization and conduct of a modern parliamentary government have had a powerful influence on the minds of backward peoples everywhere. The attempts to introduce constitutional governments into nations recently regarded as the strongholds of absolutism, and the vast increase, during the past century, of governments at least nominally republican, are indications of a tendency in political affairs which cannot well be ignored. And in view of these facts it is not difficult to see that governmental precedent is losing somewhat of its practical force, and that the conditions point to the beginning of a new chapter in the history of dependencies composed of members of the less developed races.

Granting to subject members of these races privileges like those which the Americans have conceded to the Filipinos does not relieve the dependency concerned from social disturbance or lessen the difficulty of governing it. The popular instruction which is maintained, will produce in the course of time a class sufficiently enlightened to perceive the advantages of social peace; but, however long this system is maintained, there will be at any given time a number of persons who are only midway on the path towards enlightenment. These half-trained persons constitute a more or less permanent disturbing factor, and will often be found demanding independence when independence would mean their ruin or their return to ways of barbarism. The peculiar qualities of these possessors of half-knowledge are

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especially conspicuous where the condition of the common people is far below the status of civilization. The existence of this class in the Philippine Islands, embracing many of the superficial, conceited, and ambitious Eurasians, is a necessary and foreseen evil incident to the pursuit of a policy designed to improve the cultivation and well-being of the mass of the people. This evil is manifest in a greater or less degree wherever this policy is carried out. But there is an alternative, and the extreme form of it is a policy of repression, like that pursued by President Diaz in Mexico. Such a policy, carried out with vigor, may preserve for a period the appearance of social peace. But the evil day comes at last, when the common people, brutalized by oppression, and no longer capable of rational advocacy of means for the improvement of their condition, break through all barriers and re-enact scenes of the French revolution or of the present revolution in Mexico.

The government of the United States, directed by the democratic spirit of the nation, rejects the policy of repression, but, by an approved system of instruction, it seeks to develop a class of persons sufficiently enlightened to assist, under American sovereignty, in the business of governing the islands. It aims, moreover, to induce the people to accept the Western view of work as the only basis of material prosperity; and in an elective legislative assembly to furnish means, by which the reasonable ideas of the people may find expression, and exert on the course of governmental affairs such influence as they ought to exert. This assembly, at the same time, is designed as a vent or a safety-valve for the immature ideas of those persons on whom the influences that make for civilization have not wrought their full and perfect work. As apprentices may enter the government printing-establishment and learn the art of printing, so, in like manner, representatives of the people may enter the legislative assembly, and there learn the art of government and, if possible, the meaning of liberty.

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SIMPLE DEER-HORN

(From the third book of the *Mahabharata*)
TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR W. RYDER

I

Young Deer-horn was a pious youth
Devoted to religious truth,
A hermit innocently good
Who grew to manhood in the wood.

His mother left him at his birth;
He only knew one soul on earth,
His austere father; therefore he
Grew up in natural piety.

Now in a kingdom near at hand
No rain had fallen on the land,
Prevented by the magic skill
Of priests the king had treated ill.

An aged priest advised the king:
"Propitiate the clergy; bring
Pure-minded Deer-horn from the wood,
That hermit innocently good.

He dwells in purity afar;
He does not know what women are:
Fetch him, and then the rain will fall;
Of this I have no doubt at all."

The counsel pleased the king; he planned
To entertain the hermit, and
Invited women of the town
To go and bring young Deer-horn down.

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But they refused the royal plan,
Fearing to meet a holy man;
At last an aged crone's ambition
Drove her to undertake the mission.

"If you will give me what I ask,"
She said, "I can fulfill the task;
But I require a rich reward
Of gold and gems, my royal lord."

With royal bounty richly laden,
She took her child, a youthful maiden
More known as beautiful than good,
And so departed to the wood.

II

She waited till the coast was clear,
And then she sent her daughter dear
To interview the hermit who
Had never learned what women do.

The maiden found the lad and said:
"I trust your pious life is led
Without offence, and that your food
Of roots and fruits is sweet and good.

I trust your father's heart is blest
With deep religious peace and rest;
For I am hither come to see
Your unpretending piety."

And Deer-horn answered: "Sir, you are
As radiant as a beaming star;
I never saw a man like you;
Then tell me, sir, what shall I do

To make you happy? Here are roots,
Water, a couch of skins, and fruits.
What vows are yours, most holy sage?
Where is your pious hermitage?"

"My hermitage," the maid replied,
"Is three long leagues from here, beside
The river; there I practise now
A fearfully ascetic vow.

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For I have sworn that I will greet
Such other hermits as I meet;
And I must clasp and kiss you too—
So my religion bids me do.''

She spurned the fruits that he had offered,
And in their stead to him she proffered
Confectionery sweet and good
That she had brought into the wood.

She gave him fragrant garlands too,
And brilliant garments, clean and new;
She offered wine; and while he quaffed,
She played and swayed and danced and laughed.

She played about him with a ball,
And oft coquettishly would fall
Upon his bosom, until he
Took fire from her immodesty.

At last she saw the deed was done,
That she had charmed the hermit's son;
And, gazing o'er her shoulder, fled,
To make her sacrifice, she said.

When she had left him, peace and joy
Departed from the luckless boy;
Sadly he sighed, by love distressed,
An aching void within his breast.

His father, while he sighed, returned,
Whose eyes with fire ascetic burned,
Whose life was one devoted prayer,
Whose nails were overgrown with hair.

When he beheld his son distressed
With eye upturned and heaving breast,
With longing written on his face
And passion in contentment's place,

''What troubles you, my dearest son?''
He asked, ''and are your duties done?
Who has been here with you today?''
And Deer-horn answered him straightway.

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III

"A hermit youth with hanging hair,
Not short, nor very tall, but fair
And bright as gold, with lotus-eyes,
Some child of heaven, wondrous wise.

He came in beauty like the sun,
Black eyes, sweet voice, his hair undone
And hanging soft, dark, fragrant, and
Encircled by a golden band.

A relic on his neck was seen
That danced like flashing lightnings keen;
Below it, two soft swellings white
That thrilled me with a strange delight.

Large hips he had, but slender waist
Which I could see was close embraced
By a golden belt; I saw it shine
And it was not at all like mine.

And on his ankles something stirred
That jingled like a cooing bird,
While on his wrist there tinkled free
A novel kind of rosary.

And as he moved, the beads would sing
Like gay flamingoes in the spring;
His pious robe was wondrous fair,
And quite unlike the garb we wear.

His face was beautiful to see;
His speech was kind and gladdened me;
His voice was like the nightingale;
It made me sigh and yearn and pale.

And as in spring the forest trees
Wave beautifully in the breeze,
So, father, when the wind blew, he
Shed fragrance like a flowering tree.

His hermit locks—I wondered how
They parted on his noble brow;
And dangling from each ear, there stirred
And danced what seemed a brilliant bird.

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A round, elastic fruit he had
That bounded from the earth like mad
When he would strike it merrily—
'Twas very wonderful to see.

He moved and swayed with graceful ease—
I thought of wind among the trees:
A wonderful delight and joy
Came when I saw the godlike boy.

He held me in a tight embrace;
I felt his hair; he pressed his face
Against my face and made a noise
That waked in me the strangest joys.

Our simple fruits he did not think
Were good, or water that we drink;
He gave me other fruits and rare,
And said: "This is my humble fare."

They were not like the fruits we eat,
But tasted wonderfully sweet;
They had a different sort of skin,
And different was the pulp within.

A strange, sweet kind of water he
Offered with noble piety;
It filled me with an odd delight,
And earth grew wobbly to my sight.

Sweet garlands with a careless mirth
He wove, and scattered on the earth;
Then, glorious as an ancient sage,
Departed to his hermitage.

And since he went, I feel distressed;
My limbs are burning and my breast;
I long to go to him today
Or have him here with me alway.

Yes, I will tread the path he trod
And learn the way he worships God;
With him I long to make a trial
Of holy life and self-denial.

I find no peace from him apart;
Religious yearnings fill my heart."

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IV

"It was a devil, dear my son;
By foes like these we are undone;
They walk the earth in conquering charm
And work religious men much harm.

They win us with their cunning wiles,
Their wondrous beauty and their smiles,
Then show themselves as demons fell
And plunge us in the pit of hell.

The man who seeks religious peace
Should keep himself from such as these;
To ruin us, is their delight,
My pious boy. Forget the sight.

And those sweet waters that you had
Are tasted only by the bad;
And we ascetics never wear
A perfumed garland on our hair.

Resist the devil, boy;" he said
And then he hunted for the jade;
Three days he sought without success
And ceased for very weariness.

Meantime, the tempting minx returned,
And seeing her, young Deer-horn burned;
"Come quick," he said, "and let us roam;
You see my father's not at home.

Your hermitage I fain would view;"
So, hand in eager hand, they flew
And found a boat and floated down
The river to the royal town.

No sooner did the hermit gain
The royal palace than the rain
Fell, drenching every thirsty part
And gladdening the sovereign's heart.

The joyful monarch to the brave,
Bewildered young ascetic gave—
Lest he should ever seek release—
A princess—and her name was Peace.

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A PLEA FOR SOME NEGLECTED STANDARDS AND VALUES*

RUDOLPH SCHEVILL

My plea is directed chiefly to those who have in their hearts the cultivation of the spirit of letters and of scholarship.

Discussions of the trend of our college curricula and of the ways of the American undergraduate fill many pages of current reviews, and in every academic gathering the question, "What new educational experiment is to be tried?" is common enough. What I have to say will therefore be neither startling nor new. But an occasional restatement of old ideals will serve its purpose, if it brings home to us the realization that certain standards of mental training must ever remain unshaken, and that in a society of genuine enlightenment a sense of value in culture is the first requisite of intelligent living.

Montaigne has said that if life is to have any meaning, past and future must sustain one another. I should like to apply this thought to our undergraduate education, believing, as I do, that unless a sense of the relation of human events, of the continuity of intellectual interests is uppermost in the mind of the student, his curriculum will yield little more than a varnish of culture easily effaced.

* Phi Beta Kappa address for 1913.

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Yet how can we keep life fraught with meaning, if the current which bears us onward without pause into tomorrow does not permit us to carry with us the fruits and harvests of yesterday?

In training our youth, we have rightly cut away from certain old systems, but in the process we are leaving behind some essential elements of liberal culture which had become involved in those systems. In other words, we are throwing away a part of our intellectual heritage. This represents a distinct loss, and should give us pause. To be sure, in our haste to make amends for apparent sacrifices we are instituting numerous new tests of education, and one, at least, is far too generally accepted: the mere usefulness of information hastily acquired today and supplanted by that which is more useful tomorrow. Our young people are thus running the risk of losing something of the real meaning of culture which cannot fail to be preliminary to losing the fullest meaning of life. For that kind of information which today is solely useful, and tomorrow is cast into the oven cannot lead to an acceptable and enduring standard of mental training upon which thorough enlightenment depends. Therefore, ere we shall have fallen irredeemably into the hands of the Philistines, ere intelligent interpretation of the vital portion of the culture handed down to us be irrevocably lost, let us ask ourselves how daily efficiency can be made to go hand in hand with more intelligent living. The test of education thus becomes not mere usefulness of information, but fulness of inner life, knowledge born of a high intellectual standard, such training as may enable us to go on learning a few of the innumerable things we do not know after our college days are over, eagerness, in short, to keep alive some curiosity about the past no less than the present or future. All of this may seem too exacting and unattainable today, but we dare not in all sincerity neglect the importance of a proper sense of values of culture, unless our energies are to be wholly absorbed by non-essential,

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ephemeral activities connected only with the present, unless our minds are to be turned away from the heritage of the past out of which life derives a deeper meaning.

The general results of the curricula of the American undergraduates are admitted to be unsatisfactory. The fault does not lie wholly with the student: it lies first with the educators and with the uncertain systems of education which they feel called upon to evolve in order to meet ever-changing conditions. In their anxiety to comply with the demands of those utilitarians to whom the intellectual estate of the ages holds nothing sacred, in whose opinions progress and usefulness make unnecessary painstaking study of the great minds who have gone before, too many teachers have relinquished some of our finer and more essential traditions. The utilitarians called the teacher of the conservative kind fossil and mossback, therefore he shook off conservatism, became radical, and took to the lecture platform; the busy money-changer, who has never hesitated to desecrate the Temple of the Lord, showed little sympathy with pure scholarship unrelated to business, therefore the scholar left his presumably idle pursuits and took up the cry of "all for the service of the public." Was there not at the bottom of all this a certain kind of cowardice, betrayal of a sacred trust? You recall the ancient torch-race run at night, in which the flaming light was handed by one runner to another, the last runner to receive the torch and bear it to his goal with the living flame still ablaze. No doubt the extinction of the light left the runner to stumble in darkness. Teachers who are not carrying on the fire handed on to them are apt to do the same, while to the student this break has meant the abandonment of intelligent relations with what has gone before. And yet, if the light of our finest culture is not communicated to coming generations, if past and future do not sustain one another, how can we retain the full meaning of life?

I do not undervalue those principles which make the object and ultimate purpose of teaching service of the

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public; but to make a student useful to his community is one thing, to leave him indifferent to finer ideals after the process is completed, is another. It has always seemed to me a tenable faith that by as much as a man is of worth in mental riches to himself, by just that much is he of worth to his community, to all those who come into contact with him; that deep enjoyment of many acquisitions of the mind, unrelated to any immediate profitable use does not make the one who can enjoy them an undesirable citizen. The scholar who devotes his hours to study and investigation, notably in a subject the results of which are not at once apparent and with which as a consequence the great majority have little sympathy, has frequently been called selfish. But a little more of the selfishness which would keep our young people at their books, which would make them stick to a task long enough to complete it with thoroughness and intelligence, a little more of that yearning for self-improvement which makes more thoughtful and more refined men and women are things to be preached and not condemned. Nor need we make futile efforts to reconcile the point of view of the purely practical man with that of one who pursues knowledge and culture because their pursuit somehow makes life nobler. The incompatibility of these extremes has confused the judgment of the broader world, notably of people of affairs on their relative values to society. Thus a sanscritist and a carpenter may seem miles apart, and while, as society is constituted, the former may be called upon to do some carpentering, the latter is never obliged to fall back on sanscrit; all of which ought to demonstrate the superiority of the carpenter. The famous scholar, William Dwight Whitney, who was very fond of studying birds in his idle hours, employed for a long time at his home the same carpenter. The latter thus had frequent occasion to observe the great philologist in his library. One day the carpenter by chance entered a small room where stuffed birds of many species had been skilfully mounted; he was naturally

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lost in admiration of the spectacle and when told in answer to his questioning that Mr. Whitney had done it, he said: "Well, I see the Professor hasn't wasted the whole of his time." The criticism of these ubiquitous carpenters is apt to make us forget that love of books and a quiet hour is its own justification. This strikes me as especially true of the youth of our colleges who have been allowed to foster the spirit of gregariousness until they have by temperament grown to dread isolation and to shun solitude and quiet thought. But where was the original or excelling mind ever developed without undisturbed meditation and prolonged labor? The utilitarians associate liberal culture with a life of leisure and ease because there is connected with it no noisy and immediate disbursing of education to the general; Plato or Dante, presumably, must not be studied, or, at least, not without keeping in mind the immediate applicability of such reading. Yet surely there is a commendable selfishness which makes the scholar unflinchingly pursue knowledge or truth or beauty for their own sakes, for the fulness they lend the mind, for the vitality with which they imbue the past, for the meaning they impart to our existence. Thus the platitude is worth repeating that there are riches of the mind the interest of which is to be reckoned in something nobler than dollars and cents. The sincere scholar can therefore put away the fear which is too apt to invade him of being called selfish; and I make this plea for the unremitting pursuit of scholarship for its own sake, because the teacher or lecturer who forgets the significance of that pursuit may officially be deemed an "educator," but he can hardly be called educated. It is only when the search of knowledge has no utilitarian aim that we can keep our ideals unsullied, that our standards of training remain unassailable, that our information becomes accurate and secure. Were we to consider the gain to be reaped, the use to which all we learn may be put, the constant application to public service of the things of the mind, how quickly we would bend the

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results to the demands of the hour, how easy it would become to degrade the acquisitions of the spirit to the level of the popular estimate of them! But recently the applicant for a fellowship here filed a recommendation signed by a high railroad official, which closed with the phrase: "every dollar invested in this student by the University is sure to bring ample returns." To this view of education have the concessions made by liberal culture to utilitarianism brought our universities. Let us not throw dust into the eyes of the public by telling them that our entire system of teaching, our professional duties, the mental training which we attempt to give the undergraduates are all directed to the immediate service of the tax-payer. It is insincere, it is false, it stultifies the purpose for which some of us, at least, are here. Thus far ought we to go: some departments must fit for the practical work of the world, for the application of scientific progress to the improvement of human conditions; all departments should make efficient men and women, but none should discredit high standards and values of genuine culture, least of all, an enlightened appreciation of the world of books.

Another great danger arising from too many concessions to the demands of the practical-minded man of the world is this: education which is scattered broadcast, which is diffused without careful preparation on the part of the teacher, and assimilated without discrimination by the public has lowered our standards of sincerity in teaching. Popular teaching, born of speed and not meditation, has created the ever-ready, hurry-call teacher who can at a moment's notice give an hour's talk after an hour's reading. This is indeed the utilitarian idea of repaying the taxed public for its investment in educators.

You have heard it asserted that we must no longer teach men how to think, but what to think. This, if you will but consider it a moment, is merely playing with words, it is sheer nonsense. Thinking is a mental process subject to training which can only aim at perfecting the logical

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expression of that process. Now a man is either capable of developing ideas, or he is not. In the former case education should help him to refine his mental processes, to purify his habits in thinking; it may assist him in the greatest of pleasures, that of combining two ideas to make a third; it should stimulate and teach him how to reflect: it can never teach him what to reflect. If a man is incapable of developing ideas no educator on earth can teach him what to think; he can at best hope to make him express his absence of ideas as correctly and idiomatically as possible.

I have spoken thus far chiefly of the responsibility of the teacher; what is the position of the undergraduate on this question? Professor Lounsbury of Yale once made a statement, now generally admitted as axiomatic, to the effect that the capacity of the undergraduate mind to resist the introduction of knowledge cannot be overestimated. In other words, the majority of American college students are not consumed by an ardent curiosity to learn some of the innumerable things which they do not know. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that our young people have a well-cultivated intelligence, but of the peculiar kind derived from busy college years, from much association with their kind. Their intelligence takes in a fairly wide range of things of common life; they have some information regarding everyday needs and occurrences; they know something about the natural sciences, electricity, physics, medical remedies, hygiene, in short, matters gleaned from casual experience, newspapers, magazines, and conversation. All this has been called by the practical modern man far more than Socrates ever knew. But there is after all a difference between the average undergraduate and Socrates which redounds to the credit of Socrates. Good average intelligence may be merely passive intelligence which gets information through the pores rather than the brain-cells, which fails to connect certain phenomena of existence, which is indifferent to the maintenance of

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intellectual ideals, which is not allied with any live curiosity to find an intelligent meaning in life as a whole. The opposite, however, can only be acquired if the undergraduate can be enlisted in the cultivation of active intelligence. If education means training honestly given by the teacher and intelligently received by the student, it must imply, as far as liberal culture goes, a foundation for continued replenishing of the student's inner life after he has left college. Failing in this the academic degree which is to characterize his college work is but a false color easily worn off by the common uses of daily routine. These strictures hold good with the higher degrees as well as with the lower. A Ph.D. obtained by a graduate student after much uninspired, perfunctory labor, but leading to no continuity of intelligent investigation has utterly failed in its purpose. There is in our whole university system nothing more discouraging that the candidate for a Doctor's degree who realizes that a degree is of assistance, if he seeks promotion in an academic career, but who does not realize that he must avoid that career unless his first sacred principle be never to stand still, never to be satisfied with the labeled attainments of his degree. This is our arche-type of passive academic intelligence, less worthy of consideration than that of the undergraduate because more hopeless. The latter, at least, can in the majority of cases, I am sure, be aroused to a deeper curiosity to know, if he is taken in time and stimulated in the right way.

The symptoms of what I have called the passive intelligence of too many of our young people have been apparent to all observers. Exaggerated gregariousness has been mentioned: that irresistible desire to "get together," that dislike of solitude. Many a man when left alone, does not know what to do with himself. Yet how illogical our abundance of fooling must appear! The meaning of life has never been worthier of grasping than at the present time, but how often does play get the right of way over serious pursuits! Naturally where many live together

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under the same roof, every student's room becomes a thoroughfare for all, and the spirit on which education rests, that of undisturbed labor and thought, cannot flourish. Gregariousness for mere play may indeed leave many pleasant memories of an amusing past, but why should all of these memories overshadow any purely intellectual associations with the student's Alma Mater? Shall it be that none of our recollections of the years gone by are to be preeminently those of the spirit? It has been asserted that it is impossible to resist the pressure of the rush of countless varied interests; in other words, that it is impossible to find the time necessary to develop ideas. This is not wholly so. The fact is, that it takes patience and much time to keep before the undergraduate certain standards and ideals sidetracked by too many courses superficially studied just to get rid of them, and by relatively unimportant college activities. Nevertheless, not a few students are certain to respond to an appeal to maintain better standards. We must first help them to throw off the burden of those nonessential occupations which destroy all continuity in intellectual work and consume all leisure for nobler associations. We can help them also by pleading the need of quiet hours which permit the swapping of aspirations and ideas over firesides, without any concern for the utility of the ideas or the immediate income-bearing results of the conversation. We can help them by emphasizing the value of consecutive thinking because in itself it makes better brains to reflect carefully on everything observed or read. We can help them to put away foolish companions now and then in exchange for the association of that rare occasional person who says things differently from others, and thereby stimulates to further thought. Indeed it should be worth while to champion any method which will make our youth realize that to be profoundly interested in human life one need not live only in the rush of our own particular day.

This leads me to the conviction that we can never exaggerate the wisdom of possessing a small library of a few,

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at least, of the world's master spirits. For, after all, there is a great deal of humanity upon our book-shelves, and, unless I am greatly mistaken, it has an evident advantage, for various reasons, over the humanity of daily contact. The humanity selected for our shelves can be of the choicest kind and capable of responding to every mood, whether it be to stimulate or to heal. We need this intercourse with the world's great minds, with those classics of every age, to keep before us standards of thinking, standards of knowledge, and standards of character; we need them to keep unclouded that sense of values which makes us remember that to interpret current events the records of humanity are necessary; we need the thoughts, the selected culture of those choice spirits of the past—in the words of Saint Beuve—"to reconcile us with the world and often with ourselves."

Too many of our American undergraduates evince a disconcerting helplessness in the presence of a collection of books. There can be no doubt that the fragmentary character of our curricula assisted by the student's eagerness to get through with his courses as soon as possible in order to begin practical life, is to blame. It is thus that quiet application and intelligent mental growth are sacrificed too soon to the demands of an active career, to the exigencies of utilitarianism which fails to seize the opportunities offered at college of viewing humanity from the nobler standpoint of genuine culture. "I am going out now," once said one of my graduating students, "to get busy in real estate, and see how soon I can exchange the trolley-car for an automobile." Arthur Colton has said with his characteristic charm: "Whatever may be said for an active life, . . . and the contact with what, by an inaccurate distinction, are called "realities," it remains that the recluse has an argument for himself, that we ruin our palates with novelty, that the new may have—in fact it has—the stronger grip by reason of its newness; but the old has an inimitable touch, if not by reason of its age—

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well, I don't know but it is by reason of its age. It is for some reason connected with all this that I think our old university days had their main value as a sort of compensating lens. There really seems to be no other important country where peoples' minds are so much set to the future and so little to the past as here, and a common judgment also seems to be that this is altogether a fine thing, and that we don't pay for it. It's my opinion that we do. Anyway, if a college education is a compensating lens, it is evidently not because it fits the American for business—he's apt to be fit enough and by and by to be fit for nothing else—or gives him a technical training, or teaches him to concentrate, but rather because it leads him in the direction of understanding the possibility of a not otherwise idiotic person's being able to feel that the fact that the world was not made yesterday is as important as the probability that it won't end tomorrow."

You have seen it stated that the pursuit of truth was once upon a time the aim of a University, but that we have seen a great light, that we have unmasked Truth and found it to be nothing but an abstraction; that the truth has no value beyond its use or application. Let us be thankful that such statements are not the truth; that the pursuit of truth must ever be the chief object of our university training. If our undergraduates ever turn from truth, it will not be because they have found it to be an abstraction—perhaps there are some undergraduates who do not know what an abstraction is—but because they have not been trained to hallow the pursuit of truth above the immediate usefulness of what they have learned. Indeed, it must be every scholar's conviction that we dare not discredit the search for truth, that it is to be held high before the undergraduate for the sake of the finer moral fiber which the mere search has always produced, for the clearness of vision which it brings as well as that serene wisdom which alone controls the choice of ennobling interests. Not the notion that a dollar's return must repay every dollar

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invested in education is to be the basis for standards of culture in a university, but the realization that the mere search for truth may compensate us even when we fail to reach the heart's desire.

These, then, must be some of the ideals still to be fought for and maintained among us. But how clear the way for them under present conditions? A beginning can be made, I believe, by simplification of the curriculum for the first two years of college, at least. Fewer side-shows, in the words of President Wilson, to swallow up the main tent. Less variety and more solidity. Less play and more work. It is evident that there must be good methods of teaching men how to use their brains, there must be principles of scholarship which are unassailable. The varied superficial groups of many subjects not necessarily related give no leisure for going to the root of any one and lead to confused, easily effaced impressions and transient interests: in other words, to philistinism and indifferenece to accurate thinking. I earnestly believe that our only means of stirring the American undergraduates to deeper and more fruitful curiosity will be found in courageous, compulsory limiting of the number of possible courses to be taken in the Freshman year. Thorough study of three or, at the most, four subjects ought to be more beneficial and profitable from every point of view than a motley programme of many ill-digested courses. The necessity of careful thought demanded by a single subject, accuracy in any single course, thoroughness and continuity in one field are bound to communicate themselves to other work undertaken later. Habit and method in study may be the results acquired in a limited task, but once acquired are unconsciously applied to all other work undertaken. Indeed habits of careful scholarship derived from a simple academic diet are the only safeguard against those slipshod mental ways of our youth which lead to no tangible education. The reductio ad absurdum of the usual college curriculum may be seen most patently during examination periods when the

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harassed and overtaxed brains are tested in seven or eight different subjects. The results of attempting to master in a brief orgy of cramming what ought to have been leisurely grasped in the course of many months are known to all. The alarmed state of mind of the student at such a time is wholly attributable to the wide scope of his curriculum, and the review of numerous unrelated subjects is bound to produce in the best of brains a kind of mental congestion.

It is logical to suppose that a few courses faithfully pursued would mean harder because better work than many which yield no satisfactory results. It may be presumed that the system suggested would at the outset, at least, meet with disfavor among its victims. Be that as it may, it still seems a principle of true scholarship no less than honest living in general, that he who has been faithful in a few things will be made master over many. For, by the very character of liberal culture, one field thoroughly mastered borders on many other intellectual interests.

And now it seems to me that no university has done her duty to the students who enter her gates if she offers them more opportunities to meet one another, to acquire all-absorbing social or gregarious habits, to live the life of the outer world, than occasions to enlist their interest in the abiding things of the mind. Unless we admit that the training and experiences which life and the great world supply to the mature man and woman cannot and must not be considered identical with the purely preparatory training and experiences of a university career, we are giving the precedence which culture of the mind must maintain over social interests a death-blow. Where we have gone astray, it has been because we are not engaged in the bona fide occupation of teaching the student how to use his brain to the very best of his ability. Would that the day might dawn on which it could be possible to establish firmly some abiding standards of scholarship born of our realization that culture is the child neither of many activities, nor of

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many studies! Then shall we be able to restore that fairer sense of values according to which "nothing that has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality —no language they have spoken, nor oracle beside which they have hushed their voices, no dream which has once been entertained by actual human minds, nothing about which they have ever been passionate or expended time and zeal."

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JOAQUIN MILLER AND HIS WORK*

WILLIAM DALLAM ARMES

With the passing of Joaquin Miller, the old West that has gone forever lost its truest exponent in verse, California its most picturesque citizen, and the Bohemian Club its most famous member—one whose work was known throughout the civilized world and his person in many parts not yet civilized. What a full, varied life was his! Crossing the plains to Oregon when but a lad; working himself ill as a student in Columbia College, Eugene, but winning high rank; mining in northern California; driving bands of half-wild horses from Mexico to Oregon; riding as an express messenger in Idaho and Montana; fighting Indians and living among them; filibustering with Walker in Nicaragua; teaching school; editing a paper; studying law and rising to be a superior judge; acting as war correspondent during the Franco-German war; publishing poems, plays, and novels that brought him fame, fortune and the friendship of the great in art, letters, and society in what he himself termed "the fountain head," London; traveling far and wide up and down the earth, now in classic shades, now in the Orient, now in the continent to the south of us of which most of us know so little; turning his back on the great world with its attractions and distractions and finding the health and contentment that he

* Address at the memorial exercises held by the Bohemian Club at "The Hights," May 25, 1913.

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sought in vain elsewhere in this quiet spot, from the ease and peace of which he was lured only by the rush across the frozen passes of Alaska to the Klondyke or the breaking out of war between two Oriental nations—surely during his three score years and ten he drank life to the lees!

It was in 1871, before many of those present today were born, that Joaquin Miller won literary fame, and seldom has it been won in such a spectacular fashion. In the previous August he had sailed from New York to Glasgow as a second-class passenger, bent on what an ordinary man would have considered slow suicide. Having published two volumes of verse that had brought him little but derision, he was on his way to the intellectual capital of the English speaking race with the hope of making a living by writing poetry. Less than a year later he returned to his native land famous, the honored friend of Rossetti, Swinburne, Browning, Tennyson, and a host of minor literary celebrities.

For perhaps the greatest inspiration that Joaquin Miller ever had was that which led him to go in person to London to seek a publisher for his poems. Jaded, conventionalized, humdrum London he felt would listen with interest to his poetic tales of wild, free, lawless life in the Far West, that Bret Harte had but two years before made known as a land of romance,

> "Where the blindest bluffs hold good, dear lass,
> And the wildest tales are true,
> And the men bulk big on the old trail."

The volume that Miller published in London and that brought his almost instantaneous fame had to do with vagabonds, outlaws, and filibusters, with dusky loves, faithful even unto death, in sun-parched desert and tropical jungle; with forays, battles, and sudden death. Never before had the turbulent life of the early West found expression in verse; and for the staid, home-keeping English "Songs of the Sierras" took its place by Bret Harte's

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stories and Mark Twain's sketches in what has been called "the literature of compensation," in which "we can live vicariously the sort of life we might have lived if we had been differently circumstanced."

To find a parallel to such sudden winning of literary fame it was necessary to go back to the morning when Byron "awoke and found himself famous," and the London critics hailed the newcomer as "the American Byron." The name was an appropriate one, for Byron and Miller had much in common besides the suddenness with which they won fame. Their intellectual kinship is unmistakable; Miller's western outlaws and filibusters are the direct literary descendants of Byron's Turkish bandits and pirates, "beautiful, fatal heroes 'of one virtue and a thousand crimes' "; and the disciple had caught much of the verve, the rhythmic rush, the picturesqueness of metaphor and simile, and the sensuousness of him whom he termed "master."

But, thanks to lessons learned from Tennyson and Swinburne, Miller was able to give to his lines a verbal music for which one would look in vain in the poems of Byron, and his sensuousness did not degenerate into the crass sensuality that sometimes disfigures the work of the elder poet.

Like Byron's, moreover, Miller's method was autobiographic: his tales were dramatic romances told in the first person. Hence, even as Byron was popularly supposed to have been the Lara, the Corsair, and the Giaour of whom he sang, the younger poet was at once identified with his heroes, an identification to which his Spanish nickname, his picturesque appearance, his skill in shooting and riding, and his unconventionality contributed not a little.

Far from resenting this identification, Miller at first welcomed it and thus created a Frankenstein that later he strove in vain to destroy. "I don't know why I always encouraged this idea of having been an outlaw," he wrote many years later; and he was at some pains to deny the

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legends that had grown up about his disreputable youth and caused him much mortification and genuine pain. "The only serious trouble about the claim that I made the fight for life up the ugly steeps from a hole in an adobe prison-wall instead of over the pleasant campus of a college," he wrote in 1897, "is the fact that 'our friends, the enemy,' fixed the date at about the time in which I am on record as reading my class poem in another land."

But in 1871 he did not object to being considered "The Tall Alcalde" of his poem, and there is no doubt that the identification added to his popularity in certain London literary coteries.

And, after all, this identification of a poet with his hero is indirectly a tribute to his power of imagination and his accuracy and sincerity in reporting what he has seen with his bodily organ or with "that inward eye which is the bliss of solitude." The power of giving verisimilitude to his heroes and their fancied experiences Miller possessed in a remarkable degree. The reader of "With Walker in Nicaragua" learns with a shock of surprise that the poet's acquaintance with the filibuster was but slight; that he was not present at his execution; and that the poem was originally intended as a tribute to John Brown! It was this power of giving verisimilitude to his characters and their fancied experiences, the romantic nature of his tales, his keen eye for the picturesque and for color, albeit somewhat crude color, and his ability to select the proper word-symbols for transferring his impressions to his readers that made "Songs of the Sierras" such a success.

That success led Miller to become a prolific writer. Book after book—poems, dramas, and novels—came from his pen in quick succession; and it soon became evident that his art, instead of maturing and developing, was degenerating, owing to the haste with which he was producing. Much of the work was distinctly ephemeral, and in later days he was himself its severest critic. The novels and plays he condemned in toto, notwithstanding the success of

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"The Danites" on the stage; several of the long poems he suppressed; from other poems he retained in the definitive edition of his works only a few extracts that he significantly calls "Pictures."

Whatever Joaquin Miller may have been in his youth, certainly in middle and old age he was a gentle, kindly-hearted, clean-spoken man; unconventional, to be sure, but full of love for the good, the true, and the beautiful as he apprehended them; sympathizing with all men, but especially with the poor, the weak, and the oppressed. I knew him fairly well for more than twenty-five years and never did I know of his doing a mean or an ungenerous act or using an expression that would call a blush to the cheek of any one.

As he grew older these aspects of his personality came to be more and more prominent in his poetry. But honesty of thought and deed, kindliness, and purity are homely, commonplace virtues; and his later poems were by no means so enthusiastically received as the early ones had been. And in truth his was not the magic touch that could transfigure "things common till they rose to touch the spheres." Occasionally he produced a lyric, such as "The Song of the Dove," full of haunting verbal music; a threnody, such as "The Passing of Tennyson," splendid in imagery and with a grave and majestic melody and movement; or such a poem as "Columbus," by which the heart of the reader is "moved more than with a trumpet"; but the bulk of his later poetry is—I say it with regret—comparatively negligible. But, after all, what is this but saying that in this respect he did not differ from Wordsworth, Browning, or Tennyson.

A few words about this, the poet's home for so many years, may not be inappropriate in conclusion. When fame and fortune came to him, and he could live where he would, he tried to settle down in various places—in England, in Italy, in Washington, in Mexico. But ever 'his West' was calling him home. In "Songs of the Sierras," speaking of his poems of the West, he wrote:

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"Be my reward some little place
To pitch my tent, some tree and vine
Where I may sit with lifted face
And drink the sun as drinking wine."

And in 1873 he wrote in London and published there a poem in which occur the following lines:

"I know a grassy slope above the sea,
The utmost limit of the westmost land.
* * * * * *
Here I shall sit in sunlit life's decline
Beneath my vine and somber verdant tree.
Some tawny maids in other tongues than mine
Shall minister; some memories shall be
Before me. I shall sit and I shall see,
That last vast day that dawn shall reinspire,
The sun fall down upon the farther sea;
Fall wearied down to rest, and so retire,
A splendid sinking isle of far-off fading fire."

A quarter of a century later he wrote in a note on this passage: "The only departure from my dear first plan is in finding my ideal home by the glorious gate of San Francisco instead of the somber fir-set sea-bank far to the north, 'where rolls the Oregon.'"

He first saw this spot, he tells us, in 1854, when he was bellboy and cook for Mountain Jo, one of Frémont's former men, who was driving a band of horses from Mexico to Oregon. It was then "glorious with all its primal wood and grasses and waterfall," and he was firmly convinced that it was here that Frémont camped, made the observations that he embodied in his report to the government in 1847, and named the strait fronting him the Golden Gate, because of its form and "its advantages for commerce, Asiatic included," to quote the explorer's own words. Nine years later Miller states that he found Bierstadt here painting on a commission from Frémont a view of the gate that he had named and that in the interval had become world-famous.

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Over twenty years elapsed ere Miller was here again, and how changed was the spot! "When misfortune—and how good is misfortune—led my feet from Mexico City in search of health to this spot," he wrote in 1897, "it was devastation's self. Not the vestige of tree, flower, or waterfall; only a few holes of mud, where poor, starving cattle gathered and hogs wallowed or baked in the burning sun. The destruction of wood and grass had dried up the water springs. The steeps were laid bare to storms and landslides and washouts, and left but a skeleton—lone and stark—of the once glorious hights."

He purchased the tract, and by arduous toil transformed it to a garden spot. His hand set out these trees and flowers; he developed the springs; he built the little houses; and here only, he tells us, was he ever well or at all content. And here he willed that his ashes should rest. In the epilogue to "Joaquin et al," published in Portland in 1868, he wrote:

> "Do not stick me down in the cold mud,
> As if I wished to hide, or was ashamed of what I had done;
> Or my friends believed me born of slime, with torpid blood.
> No, when this, the first short quarter of my life, is run,
> Let me ascend in clouds of smoke up to the sun."

And in the little cemetery he established here he built for himself this funeral cairn.

The collected edition of his poems published in 1897 closed with one termed "Adios," in which he wrote:

> "Come here when I am far away
> And sit in quiet; do not say,
> Turn left or right, or lift a hand,
> But sit beneath my kindly trees
> And gaze far out yon sea of seas.
> These trees, these very stones could tell
> How long I loved them and how well!
> And maybe I shall come and sit
> Beside you; sit so silently
> You will not reck of it.

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"The old desire of far, new lands,
The thirst to learn, to still front storms,
To bend my knees, to lift my hands
To God in all his thousand forms—
These lure and lead as pleasantly
As old songs sung anew at sea.
But storied lands or stormy deeps,
I will my ashes to my steeps—
I will my steeps, green cross, red rose,
To lovers of the beautiful.
O, learn to be of those."

It is in accordance with his expressed wish that we, the members of the club of which he was an honored member, are here today to carry out his will and to bid a last farewell to Joaquin, true poet and true friend.

"Ave atque vale æternum!"

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PACIFIC INTERLUDES

LEONARD BACON

I

THE TALE OF REZANOFF

To understand my tale you must shape forth
Russia the white Prometheus of the North,
South groping a dead century agone
To lands that know the pleasure of the sun.
She has just struggled to the Eastern verge
Of that vast sea that licks with leaden surge
The northward gates of Asia. She is worn
With labour. All the sterile fields are torn
With the tramp of Ermack's horses; and Behring's keel
Has found a nameless sea, whereby the steel
And iron of gigantic cliffs arise.
And there beneath the cloud-begirded skies,
Where a warm current strikes the weary coast,
Glitter the dull fires of a trading post.
Wearier than the eternal Steppes the sea
Leaguers the little fortress warily—
A dozen huts, a church, a palisade
Whereo'er the double-eagle is displayed
At battle with a ceaseless wind.
One night
As to the northward faded the late light
Out from his cabin the Ruler of the place
Rezanoff strode; and there was on his face
A puzzled look, a twitch about his mouth;
And his keen eyes forever sought the South.
And yet he looked not forth as if there should
Come out a portent from the rolling flood,

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But rather as if far to south there lay
A deed to do, or else a game to play.
So he stood like a statue at his door,
And mused on many things that were before
And many that should come.
"Ah, here I stand,"
He thought, "the last far outpost of our land,
A useless dagger, doomed for aye to rust,
The final effort of the lunge and thrust
That conquered Asia. The blown drop of foam
Ahead of Russia's wave that soon shall comb
And crash across the calms of All the East.
Here am I but the meanest and the least
Dull little tool of the Earth-shaking trade
That troubles nations.
"By my God," he said,
"For one faint touch of momentary power
My soul should be the devil's, but that hour
Russia should still remember, till the plunge
Abysmal of her ending should expunge
Memory of empire and majesty and might."
Then suddenly he shouted, for a light
Lay on the Sea, and underneath the cold
High moon a close hauled frigate rocked and rolled
On for the haven. Rezanoff sought the beach
Shouting out orders in the Aleut speech
Unto his Indians. For the open road
They drove the kayak, where the dull moon showed,
Dully and faintly drowned in silver shine,
The Russian colours. Like a draught of wine
Came on his ear the thrilling native tongue
As sick for joy, he stood his friends among.
"News of four nations," quoth the Captain then,
"Our orders say to southward. Ships and men
We meet with further. But the whole command
Is given with imperial letters to your hand
Governor Rezanoff."
And Rezanoff read
As though a thunder beat within his head,
Authority that passed the maddest dream
Of his desire. Oh sweet to whip the team
Of empire and ambition South away.
And at the furious out-break of the day
Urged with a driving wind and driving tide
They shot on their endeavor far and wide.

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Now for a space seek out another land,
A country of fair mountains, which the hand
Of wearied Mexico but lightly rules
Whence that most ancient flag of gold and gules
Is scarce departed. There almost at grips
Two nations white with anger to the lips.
Imperial in her anger England stands,
Ready to loose the lightning of her hands,
And her fierce daughter, hand upon hilt,
Braced like a panther, will not shun the tilt.
And hark, upon their waxing quarrel comes
The roll and droning of the Russian drums.
But in the pleasant country far apart
Dwells now a girl, and perfect is her heart.
Nor cares what anger may divide the great.
Virginal and equable and sweet the state
Of her and all her doings. All men look
Into her eyes as though they were a book
Of some most pure salvation. And her tread
Is light as the dear vision of the dead.
Your eyes forecast no future agony,
Donna Concepcion, nor can you see
How in this strife your youth shall totter down.
And as one evening from the gloaming town
She went, and to the westward turned her glance,
Where the fierce sunset danced a dagger dance,
And as she dreamed before the majesties
Of sun and broken fires, into her peace
Came suddenly a troop of weary men.
Strange faces, stranger speech burst on her then.
And all she heard only as shattered sound.
As the huge Russian seamen gathered round.
Then forth their leader strode, and in his look
She saw a light, so that her calm forsook
The peaceful spirit, and within she knew
A change whose bidding she must hearken to—
A waxing and a waning in her heart,
As youth itself made ready to depart—
No more a maiden but a woman hence,
Whose every least desire turns in one sense.
Rezanoff! What of him, the farthest led
Builder of Empire? Now within his head
Strange matters mingles. And a throb beat in
Every design, nor could his heart begin

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The businesses of his imperial plan
For yearnings of the whole desires of man.
What worth to him that southward in the bay
With eager guns the English frigates lay?
What cared he for the white-toothed Yankee snarl,
When the long-limbed, lank Consul sought a parle?
Could he not laughingly still set aside
Mexican petulance and wounded pride
And go unto his lady where she leaned
In her cool patio passion-flower-screened?
Had not her heart beat wonderfully by his?
Had not all pleasure gathered in her kiss?
Better God wot, to harvest in the flowers
That blossomed in those immemorial hours,
Than waste his hope and haste his season by
In the deceit men call diplomacy.
Men that have loved and women that have known
Such happiness may make this tale their own.
Only I say I have not power to tell
What beauty in their happiness befell.
Nor had the limitless Greek lyre expressed
The idyll of the visionary West,
The dream, the kisses, the impurpled touch
Of hearts that dreaming on, hoped overmuch.
But meanwhile full four thousand leagues away
Came other champions in that game to play,
And the marshalling of leagues, and furbishing
Of allied arms. And now must many a king
Look to his forces. Europe crouched to leap
Looses her navies; and the sea-winds sweep
Armaments together, eager to invade.
Then speaks one statesman at whose word the blade
Reluctant nations irresolutely sheathe.
And the young republic freelier doth breathe.
And half across the world the labouring Czar
Saw he had carried the attack too far.
And checked by endless lands and endless seas
Gave up the project and withdrew his piece.
"Governor Rezanoff," the crowned letter ran,
"For this occasion we forego our plan
And having other needs command return
To Petersburg, where we can further learn
The inward of the thing. We will discuss
The matter largely when you come to us."

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What could Rezanoff? Ah the poisoned thrust—
The serpent stroke arisen from the dust.
The bitter arrows of all miseries smote
Rankling and barbed in his heart and throat.
And white Concepcion's eyes were things to fear
In memory through many an awful year.
Go back, Rezanoff! The great Czar has called
And though your spirit and your heart appalled
With sorrow, still in utter anguish burn,
Go! Go! Yet keep a vision of return.
How he lived thence and what the deeds he wrought
I know not, nor wherever I have sought
Has there subsisted to this day a trace.
Perchance he found within another place
Another love, or happier perchance,
Where Russian rifle and Bokhariot lance
Won space for the fulfillment of their hate,
In the wild Asian wars he found his fate.
But solemnly the empty years marched on
And the rains came and went, and the sun shone,
Yet still must passion-sick Concepcion wait
Within her rancho by the Silver Gate.
No tidings from that time came ever forth
Concerning that lone Exarch of the North
Men called Renzanoff. Like a wind he came,
And lo! was gone like a wind-stifled flame,
Leaving no token or sign to be descried
Save Love, whereon a girl was crucified.

II

THE LEGEND OF THE BEGUM

A purple century and a half agone
It chanced that, in a palace fronting on
The gates of dawn and ocean, there should dwell
The Princess whose strange history I tell.
Long had her father ruled the realm in peace
Since his green banner down the sapphire seas
Stormed from Malaysio, and o'erturned the throne
That after he refashioned for his own.
His race was haughty in the blood and pride
Of many a Mogul prince and Ghaznevide
Ruler of Ind, and he had swept the coasts
Of all the isles with the arrows of his hosts.

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And now reclining on the bosoming years
He rested from the labour of the spears.
And this his daughter born was dear to him
And light unto his eyes as they grew dim.
The wind that halted through the sendal screens
Dusking the scented place of heathen queens,
Was not more delicate; her little feet
Trod lightlier. And within her seemed to beat
A blood more perfect and a heart more pure.
And her great father laboured to secure
In her his mighty years of strength and faith,
For if the spirit stir not, life is death.
Beautiful she grew, until a rumor ran
Through the ocean-sundered isles, whose people scan
The purple frontiers of Pacific seas.
And many a poet harped his harmonies
Concerning this King's daughter, and there came
Many a strong sea-lord armèd like a flame,
Many a stark Sultan out of East and South,
Yearning for the pride and pleasure of her mouth.
But she, when her most lovely eyes had seen,
Bade one and all desire another queen.
But one wild evening, when the wide winds drave
Through courts of moonlight, with a woman slave
Up to her chamber in the tower went she,
Whose arching windows overlooked the sea
Champing within the harbor. And through the night
Suddenly Southward hove a sea-born light.
And nearer drawn before the gusty blasts,
Under the moon she saw gigantic masts,
Known little of her nation. Broad and square
The close-hauled royals drank the driving air,
Until scarce a stone's throw away she heard
A great voice trumpeting a mighty word:
"Ready about." And like a horse the ship
Swung round and halted, and she heard the slip
And rattle of the roaring anchor chain.
Then silence fell over the sea again.
She slept a little till the feet of dawn
Trampled the East. And then far off withdrawn,
Into the woman's fastnesses she went,
Where all was misty with purpureal scent,
And silver shapes went softly to and fro,
And no voice spake save musically low.

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There in front where living water sprang
She bathed her till the swift blood in her sang;
And clothed herself in colors delicate.
Then to the chambers of her father's state
Beautiful as the soul of dawn she trod
And men looked on her as upon a God.
Now as she neared the gold-embowered throne
Without she heard a harsh, deep sea-conch blown,
And the chamberlain came hot-foot in.
"My lord,
A sea-man from beyond the sea sends word
That he would speak with you."
Then o'er the throng
There towered the shoulders of a man whose strong
White face and mighty beard of wavy gold
Was was better than a kingdom to behold:
"Oh king, we kingless, come from over sea.
Nor plunderers nor buccaneers are we,
But honest men who come to ply our trade.
And if our wish and plea be not gainsaid
We would set up our market, that we may
Barter these our goods for yours—and we will say
Good measure shall you have and here I bring
A present for a soldier and a King."
Therewith from one who followed at his heel
He took a burden, and laid bare the steel
Of a great flashing rifle, and he gave
This to the keeping of a near-by slave.
"Royally," quoth the King, "is the gift given,
And royally shall be received by heaven.
Go where you will by my most high command
As free as ye were in your father's land
Great to breed such as you it needs must be
Who overtop my children of the sea."
But the Princess who all this unseen could scan
Said in her heart, "My life! There goes a man."
And the great voice she knew beyond a fault,
Whose power had brought the giant ship to halt.
And that night as the Captain got him gone
There came a slave who bade him follow on
And forth they journeyed long and silently
Through many a passage rich with filigree
Unto a chamber where they stood alone.
He heard not far the pleasurable tone
Of some deep smitten chorded instrument.

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And through the room rich wafts of odor went—
Honey-sweet balsamum and orange flower.
Then suddenly a voice spake in the bower
Unknown and beautiful, utterly sweet.
And veiled and hidden from fair head to feet
A lady stood before him. Down he knelt,
Yet like a forging sledge-hammer he felt
His great blood beat within him. And when she drew
The soft veils, and revealed unto the view
A face that shook the strong place of the soul.
His spirit lifted upward like the roll
Of his own restless Empire, the white sea.
Then in the faultless speech of Araby,
Sweet as deep odours or fire-heated wine,
She spake, and in that master tongue divine
He answered unto her, and, "Whence," she said,
"Sea-going Emir, does your high ship head.
Out of what harbor of the West or East."
"Lady," he answered, "Where the days are least
And the nights longest, being far from you,
My harbour is, in a land strange and new.
In the third Ocean hence we lie, the verge
Of the seas fronting Europe, and the dirge
Of surf more thundrous than your sea-gates roars
Forever at the lintels of our doors.
Sea-goers and land-travellers are we,
And not a portion of the land or sea
But knows our tread, and has sustained our keel.
The grapes of many nations under heel
We trample out into a giant wine,
That shall make glad some century divine.
Kingless we are, yet every man a king
Shaping his own destinies that it may bring
Great things to pass at the appointed dawn.
And all the planets the wide heavens spawn
Are not more numberless or proud than we,
The free adventurers of liberty."
So an immortal hour he told his tale;
And she, like a swift ship whose purple sail
Is laden with the full gigantic wind,
Left all the shores of memory behind.
And with a holding of ecstatic breath
Listened more silent than the lips of death,
More beautiful than the very font of life.

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Great histories of an oceanic strife
He told her, battles in an unknown war
When his young standard led the line before
The roaring phalanx of gigantic ships.
And trapped with beauty of her quiet lips,
He grew, scarce knowing how it came to be,

The poet of his own hard victory.
And at the end she rose and said:
"My Lord,
Abide in peace. I go to speak a word
Unto my father. Wait here my return.
To see what gift your wonder tales shall earn."
And he full-wearied, on the cushions lay
And slept with the beginning of the day.
And she sought out the King in the white room
Hung with the webs of many an Indian loom,
Whence he beheld the red dawn wed the sea,
And kneeling down besought him womanly,
And reaching up her hand stroked his white beard,
Till all the heart of her behest he heard.
Then as the Seaman slumbered in the death
Of sleep, came over him a sweeter breath
Than drives across the pure place of a dream.
And in him shapes of sunrise seemed to gleam,
And golden lights leaped in his mind, and sweet
Voices called all about him, and the beat
Of music shook the texture of his soul
As if therein the sea-winds came to roll
With sound of waters. Harmonies leaped and fell,
And carried all in their tumultuous swell,
Till smitten with a host of ecstacies
He woke against the heaven of her kiss.

* * * *

What need to tell you of the city where
She came, his pleasure and his pain to bear.
But its tree-shaded streets are not less dear
Because she trod them in a bygone year.
And some still sparkles of that dear romance
Over the milkwhite Quaker door-steps glance;
Nor in the newer cycle's roar and fret
Can men her strange sweet memory forget.
Nor shall they, while God wills that there shall be
Visions and dreams of countries oversea.

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BRIEF ON THE DEGREE OF A.B. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

W. A. MERRILL

A. *Texts of Laws and Trusts.*

1. *Deed from Hillegass to College of California,* Sept. 4, 1860 (Regent's Manual, p. 241–2), recites: "also, for and in consideration of the agreement made by the parties of the second part to erect, build, and maintain the College of California upon the ground hereby conveyed, or upon the college grounds contiguous thereto . . . and it is agreed and understood that if the parties of the second part should fail to erect the *contemplated College of California* upon said premises—or if at any time after the same has been erected on said grounds, *said college* should be removed or it should cease actual operation as a college, that this conveyance shall be void, and said land shall be redeeded to the parties of the first part or his heirs or assigns on the payment to the parties of the second part of the sum of two thousand dollars."

2. *Pledge of Regents* (p. 173): "Resolved, That the Board of Regents take this occasion to repeat the expression of their profound appreciation of the far-seeing public spirit, devotion to learning, and the good of the commonwealth manifested by the Trustees of the College of California in the resolutions passed by their Board October ninth, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, to wit,

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'Resolved, That the President and Board of Trustees of the College of California hereby offer to donate and convey to the State Board of Directors of the Agricultural, Mining, and Mechanical Arts College, one hundred and sixty acres of land—for the site and farm of said State College. Resolved, That in making this donation the College of California is influenced by the earnest hope and confident expectation that the State of California will forthwith organize and put in operation upon this site a University of California which shall include a College of Mines, a College of Civil Engineering, a College of Mechanics, and a College of Agriculture, and an *Academical College,* all *of the same grade* and with courses of instruction *equal to those of Eastern Colleges'*. [This means "of Eastern Colleges" not in 1913, but in 1867.] Resolved That in view of the important trusts prospectively confided to us by these resolutions, we do hereby signify to the Trustees of the College of California our sense of responsibility, and our purpose and intent to preserve, cherish and carry forward to posterity these trusts in the same enlightened spirit in which they are confided to us . . . . Resolved, That the Regents will in case of these conclusive acts, carry forward *without interruption,* as classes in the University, those *now* in the College of California. ". . . . Dated April 5, 1869. (The words "confident expectation" were inserted by special vote of the Trustees on Feb. 11, 1868).

3. *Extracts from the Organic Act* (Manual p. 15 ff.) Sect. 1. The University shall . . . consist of various colleges, namely: First—Colleges of Arts. Second—A College of Letters. Third—Such professional and other colleges as may be added thereto or connected therewith. Sect. 2. There shall be organized . . . First—the following Colleges of Arts . . . Second—*A State College of Letters.* Third—Colleges of Medicine, Law and other like professional colleges, (Pol. Code Sect. 1387. The College of Letters must embrace a *liberal* course of instruction in

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language, literature and philosophy.) Sect. 3. A *proper degree* of each college shall be conferred at the end of the course. Sect. 7. The Board of Regents, *having in regard the said donation* already made to the State by the President and Board of Trustees of the College of California, and their proposition to surrender all their property to the state for the benefit of the State University, and to become disincorporate and go out of existence as soon as the State shall organize the University by adding a *Classical Course* to the College of Arts, shall as soon as they deem it practicable, establish a *College of Letters.* The College of Letters shall be coexistent with the aforesaid College of Arts and shall embrace a liberal course of instruction in languages, literature and philosophy, together with such courses or parts of courses in the aforesaid College of Arts as the authorities of the University shall prescribe. The *degree of Bachelor of Arts,* upon due examination, and afterwards the degree of Master of Arts, in usual course, shall be conferred upon the graduates of *this* college.

4. *Constitution of the State, Art. IX, Sec.* 9. The University of California . . . shall be perpetually continued in the form and character prescribed by the Organic Act creating the same . . . subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure *compliance with the terms of the endowments.*

5. *Minutes of Trustees of Colleges of California,* July 13, 1868: "and disincorporate on the organization of the College of Letters *with full course of studies,"* being a quotation from the Regents' action taken July 2, 1868.

B. *Curriculum of the College of California.* The College of California was founded by graduates of Yale and Dartmouth Colleges and its curriculum was plainly founded on that of Yale. In 1869 the curriculum at Yale included the following studies: *Greek, Latin,* Mathematics, History, French, English, Natural Science, German, Philosophy, Political Economy, and Theology. Greek and Latin were allowed, using our present method of computa-

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tion, 36 units as against 40 at Yale. The guiding principles of the course were stated as follows in the catalogue of the College for 1867-8, p. 13: "The course is intended to be justly balanced and to give a thorough manly training preparatory to professional or business life . . . . The unsettled state of things and the restlessness of the community have been unfavorable to the patience and steadiness of purpose requisite to a thorough course of study, such as insisted on by *this* college."

C. *Curriculum at the opening of the University.* In 1869 a prospectus of the new university was published, and in it the various courses were outlined. For the College of Letters French, German, and Theology were omitted as required subjects, *all others being retained,* and military added, at least prospectively. The *prescription* of Latin and Greek was reduced from 36 to 21, of Mathematics from 16 to 8, while Natural Science was increased from 20 to 28. But in the Register for 1870 the *Classics were increased* from 21 to 36, Mathematics from 8 to 12. Thus at the very outset the depreciation of classical study was attempted and defeated.

D. *Contemporary Opinion in the opening years of the University.* President Durant: stenographic report of a conversation with President Gilman, p. 21: "*we will have the College of California* a department of the University *as the College of Letters.* . . . We deeded that site . . . with the understanding that *the College of California was to be the College of Letters, the classes to be taken right along.*"

Governor Haight, commencement address for 1871, pp. 12-17, protests against the public movement to dethrone Latin and Greek. P. 13: "The time is not at hand when the language and literature of Greece and Rome will be regarded in the same light and entitled to no more important place than Hebrew and Sanskrit . . . *no means of mental and esthetical culture will ever replace the classics.* P. 14: any change so radical as to omit the classics from

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the curriculum would be a step backward, instead of a step in advance. *They must form the basis of all complete and symmetrical education.* [This shows what was meant by the word "Liberal" in the Organic Act, (Pol. Code, Sect. 1387), p. 374, above.] P. 14: The new method (i.e. of Student at Large) seems to open the door to the pursuit of knowledge in any department." From the context it appears that the Governor was ready to meet objectors to the required study of the classics by referring such to the status of Student at Large, which led to no degree but gave opportunity for free election of all subjects of study.

E. *Policy of Faculty and Regents.* Opposition to the prescription of classics and the exclusive privilege of the degree of A.B. soon appeared, as might have been inferred from Governor Haight's defence. *The College of California* was metamorphosed into *the College of Letters* and had but one course, and this course prescribed *Greek and Latin* which led to the one degree, A.B. Jealousy of the degree is shown by the action of the Academic Senate, which on July 9, 1872, voted to extend the degree of Bachelor of Arts to all graduates of all Colleges in the University, with designation on the diploma of the College whose course the student had finished. This resolution was transmitted to the Board of Regents and referred to the Committee on Instruction; but the Regents' Minutes contain *no report of the committee on the subject, and the classical graduates continued to retain the degree in their exclusive possession.* This action of the Senate is the first interpretation of the provision in the Organic Act that the degree of A.B. might be "an appropriate degree" for graduates other than from the College of Letters. The movement, however, against Greek was so strong that it was soon found necessary to placate objectors; and following on the attempt to diminish the prescription of classics made in the Prospectus of 1869, the first of many steps in undermining classical study was taken in 1872. This took the form of establishing a new course within the College of

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Letters; for it was supposed in the early years that no new college other than such as should be strictly professional (Organic Act Sec. 1) could be added to those explicitly enumerated in the Organic Act. On July 6, 1869 the Regents had voted that the Classics should be optional after the second year of the course, but that reduction failed to satisfy the insurgents and soon the so-called Literary Course was erected, wherein a modern language could be substituted for Greek and which led to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. Even this was unsatisfactory, for the movement against Latin was also (and still is) formidable, and a third course within the College of Letters was set up, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Letters. It is plain that the desire for A.B. for graduates from these courses was not gratified. Finally the Regents, on Sept. 7, 1881, settled the permanent policy by the following order: "Voted, *that the College of Letters shall have but one course of study, known as the Classical Course and embracing Greek and Latin.* Voted, to authorize the Faculty to arrange two general courses of study, one to correspond with the course at present known as the Literary Course, the other to be a course in Letters and Science, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Letters." According to the Registers, the Literary Course, leading to the degree of B.L. was designed for students "who wish to study Latin, but instead of Greek to enjoy a fuller course in English, French and German than that offered in the classical course." The curriculum leading to degrees, other than A.B., that was given in the College of Letters varied somewhat, but the degree of Ph.B. was conferred in that college from 1876 to 1893 and the degree of B.L. from 1883 to 1893. The differentiation from A.B. constantly lay in this, *that while A.B. always demanded both Greek and Latin, B.L.* and Ph.B. omitted Greek altogether, and one of them Latin also, even for admission.

In 1887 a pamphlet was printed at Sacramento, which contained reports presented to the Academic Council by

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the Committees on Curricula, Higher Degrees, and Regulations. On page 15 of this pamphlet the report of the Committee on Higher Degrees discusses the desirability of "having no distinction in the baccalaureate but that between Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science" and continues as follows: "could we comply with the requirements of our State law . . . by conferring the degree of B.A. on our students who complete the Literary Course or the Course in Letters and Political Science, this would be the obvious solution of the difficulty. But in the face of the important differences that unquestionably exist between our full classical course . . . and in face of the fact that in fulfillment of a formal contract with the College of California these differences are mandatory by the second, third, and seventh section of the Organic Act, construed as they undeniably must be by the plain and universally implied meaning of the words 'classical' and 'bachelor or arts' at the time the Act was adopted; it is clearly unlawful to confer the degree of B. A. on any persons not graduates of the College of Letters, in its regular classical course."

In 1892 the subordinate courses in the College of Letters were abandoned and two new colleges, Social and Natural Sciences, were set up. The College of Social Sciences took up the work of the two courses—Literary, and Letters and Political Science in the College of Letters, and a new college whose purpose was to emphasize the study of Natural Science was established. Immediately the question of the A.B. degree was agitated, and a movement to open this degree to one or both of the new colleges was defeated in an informal manner by the written opinions of 22 attorneys, submitted to the Senate, that the granting of the degree of A. B. to other than classical graduates of the College of Letters would be unconstitutional, illegal, and a breach of trust. The Academic Senate, therefore, proposed to the Regents that the degree of B. L. be conferred on the graduates in Social Sciences, the degree of Ph. B. being abandoned, and B. S. to the graduates in Natural Sciences; and

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the Regents by their Standing Order No. 220 have so ordered, and such is the present rule. Although one of the subordinate courses in the College of Letters demanded Latin both for admission and for college also, and the other demanded no Latin at all, the Senate compromised by prescribing four years of preparatory Latin for each one of the new Colleges.

But, as might have been foreseen, the University gave way almost at once in regard to the Latin requirement in Natural Sciences; and in Social Sciences, while even from the beginning there was no requirement of college Latin, it has been thought impossible to maintain four years' preparation in Latin for admission, and at the present time there is only a nominal requirement of two years' study of that subject in the schools, of the character of which there is no adequate test. Thus the history of the University shows that it is only in the *classical course of the College of Letters, with its valuable and peculiar degree of Bachelor of Arts, that it has been found possible to maintain the classics,* and thus conform to the terms of the donation from the College of California, and of the Organic Act and the Constitution of the State of California. Theoretically, to be sure, a student may enter Letters with neither Latin nor Greek, but, as will be shown later, this theoretical permission has no practical significance, and the graduates in Letters are genuine classical students.

In 1903 a further attempt was made to extend the degree, and a committee was appointed by the Academic Council to consider the matter. At a meeting of that body in 1903, the venerable Professor Kellogg (a professor in the original College of California, which stipulated the perpetuity of a Classical Course as the condition of its deed of gift), who had retired from the presidency of the University of California, appeared for the last time at a faculty meeting, bearing the book of legal opinions and protesting with his last voice against the proposed violation of the Trust. He had no doubt whatever about the significance

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of the promise to the little college which he had helped to call into life. The Council voted on Feb. 5, 1904, on recommendation of the Committee, that it was inexpedient to adopt one bachelor's degree for the three Colleges of General Culture.

F. *Legal Opinions.* In the domain of Law the following questions arise:

1. What is meant by "academical college" in the trust from the College of California?

2. Must Greek be included in the curriculum of the College of Letters to constitute a classical course?

3. Does the specific provision of the degree of Bachelor of Arts for the College of Letters and the provision of an "appropriate degree" for other courses and colleges limit the degree of A. B. to graduates of the College of Letters?

The following quotations are taken from written opinions now preserved in the University archives.

W. H. Chapman: One of the prime conditions of the donation was that there should be established an academical college embracing the classical course and . . . the Regents can not confer the degree upon any one pursuing any other course.

W. Gregory: The question of what is a proper degree of each college is left to the discretion of the Board of Regents with this one restriction, the A.B. degree must be given to the graduates of a certain specified college. "When a statute enumerates the persons and things affected, there is an implied exclusion of others; there is then a natural inference that its application is not intended to be general," Sutherland on Statutory Construction, Sect. 327. It follows that the A. B. degree for any college other than a classical college is illegal.

Judge D. W. Henshaw: Graduates of other colleges may have, as the law designs, proper degrees conferred on them, but assuredly the degree of Bachelor of Arts is not for them. To enlarge the field in which the degree is to be received is absolutely to destroy it.

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J. C. Martin and J. R. Glascock: It is apparent that the legislature of the state has exclusively appropriated and assigned the graduates of the College of Letters the degree of Bachelor of Arts. . . . The degree has been exclusively appropriated and assigned as the exclusive mark of distinction to the graduates of the College of Letters. It is not competent for the Regents to confer this degree upon students who have not completed the course in the college of Letters.

J. B. Lincoln: I am of the opinion that the degree of A. B. cannot be legally conferred on any student other than a graduate of what is now generally know as *the classical course*. The original deed from the Trustees of the College of California to the State, in its recitals specified as conditions of the grant the establishment of a university which shall contain . . . an academical college. At the time this deed was made it was generally understood that a study of the classics was a necessary part of a first class collegiate education, and a course of instruction in these subjects formed an important portion of the regular curriculum of all the best Eastern colleges and universities. Hence we must conclude that the donors of the lands in question used the term academical college in the sense of a college that comprised the study of the classics, or in other words as identical with the term classical course. Further evidence that the term was so used by the donors is found in Article 7 of the Act of 1868 in which the legislature uses the words classical college as a substitute for academical college. In Section 7 of the same Act the legislature in establishing a College of Letters say in effect that having in mind the donation of the College of California to the State and the proposition of the college to go out of existence as soon as the State shall organize a University by adding a classical college to the college of Arts, they do therefore establish a college of Letters, and graduates of this college shall be given the degree of Bachelor of Arts. This whole section,

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finally, is positive evidence of the fact that the gift of lands of the College of California to the State was made on the express consideration that the State was to establish and maintain what is now generally known as the classical course. In my opinion . . . the degree of A.B. . . . can be lawfully given to such students as have fulfilled the requirements of the classical course and to them alone.

F. Otis: As the course of instruction in the College of Letters must be a classical course and the proper degree for such a course [is] B.A., . . . it follows that [this] degree belongs to the College of Letters, classical course, and to no other college or course.

Reinstein and Eissner: The College of Letters or Classical college is identical with the classical course of the University of California and Academical college of the deed of donation by the College of California, and the acceptance of the same by the Board of Regents. We can find no warrant for any other view.

Guy C. Earl: I am of opinion that the Board of Regents have no power to confer the degree of A.B. upon graduates of any course other than the full "Classical Course." The terms "College of Letters" and "Classical College" of the Organic Act and "Academical College" of the deed of gift of the College of California and the acceptance of the same by the Board are in my judgment convertible terms.

Concurring opinions are on file from Judge C. W. Slack, Judge Wm. T. Wallace, Messrs. Daingerfield, Morrison, Hittell, Button and others. It will be noticed that a majority of these persons had the degree of A. B. from the College of Letters, but a minority held other degrees or were graduates of other universities. Even if the opinion of these 22 attorneys were to be offset by that of 22 others who might possibly hold a contrary opinion, yet it would appear that the proposed change in the character of the degree would not be justified in the light of such a resulting difference of opinion. The burden of proof lies

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with those who would dislodge the College of Letters from its traditional position. A contemplated action which involves what to many seems a breach of trust can hardly be entered on by men of integrity.

RECAPITULATION

1. The College of California was a Classical College and the land was conveyed for that purpose.
2. The deed of Trust says "Academical College."
3. The Organic Act says "Classical College."
4. Students in the classical course of the College of California were continued in the College of Letters, Classical Course.
5. The degree of Bachelor of Arts is ordered for graduates of the College of Letters, Classical Course, and for no others.
6. No degree is specified for the other colleges; the degree is to be "appropriate."
7. If B.A. were appropriate for other colleges it would have been mentioned; hence B.A. can be given only for the Classical Course.
8. Consequently, new degrees, B.L., Ph.B., B.S. were adopted for other courses.
9. B. A. is a valuable asset of the Classical Course.
10. The existence of the Classical Course and of the College of Letters is endangered by giving B.A. without Greek.
11. It is a breach of trust with the College of California to give B.A. without Greek.
12. It is a still more violent breach of trust to give it without Latin.
13. Violation of trusts is certain to injure the future prosperity of the University.

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As an instructor in the Classics, may the writer append to the preceding historical and legal statement of facts, the following discussion:

1. *Force of Change in Public Opinion.* In 1869 no college in the United States conferred the degree of A.B. without Greek. But as early as 1866 actual steps were taken at Harvard College to break down the old prescribed course, a movement which finally culminated there in the elective system and the opening of the degree to those without college Greek in 1884, and preparatory Greek in 1886. There was a ferment in educational opinion at the time, a mark of which was the publication of Youmans' "Culture demanded by Modern Life" in 1867 and the foundation of the Popular Science Monthly in 1872 with Youmans as the editor. The prevailing influence at the College of California was that of Yale: President Durant and Professor Kellogg were Yale graduates and so was Sherman Day the President of the Trustees. Dr. Willey was a Dartmouth man, and the board of trustees was largely made up of conservative clergymen and lawyers, who although in sympathy with modern studies, yet always placed the old learning first. There is letter of Mr. Day's in the Archives, wherein he strongly recommends the study of French and German after, or in connection with, the study of Greek and Latin. It is significant that the College of California towards the end of its career established a school of engineering, but in San Francisco, while the standard curriculum at Oakland was unchanged.

For many years Harvard stood alone in its radical tendency. Yale was the citadel of the conservatives and the small colleges followed Yale. Yet one Harvard graduate, Dr. Stebbins was one of the most influential trustees of the College, and later from 1868 to 1894 a regent of the University, and for most, if not all that period, chairman of the very powerful committee of the Regents on Instruction or Internal Administration. To his committee were

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referred all proposed changes in the curriculum and conditions for degrees; it was his committee that pocketed the recommendations of the Senate in 1872 to give A.B. in all courses; it was his committee that worked out the conditions for B.L. and Ph.B., and approved the reorganization of 1892. Dr. Stebbins was a wise conservative, and, when his own son entered the University in 1895, the son took the old course in the College of Letters, even specializing in Natural Science in his later years, as the original curriculum of the College of California permitted. It is not conceivable that Dr. Stebbins would favor such a proposition as is now being made to relegate the classics to a subordinate position and to deprive their study of its distinctive reward. He knew, as all others, that the minds of children are too immature to appreciate the value of classical studies, and that unless these subjects are rigorously prescribed they will fade away and die so far as the great majority of students are concerned. That has been the result always and everywhere, not only with the classics but with other prescribed studies also; and the present condition of the Colleges of Social and Natural Sciences is proof of it. A mere remnant, it is true, will survive, and the survivors truly will be the very cream; but the principle that certain prescribed studies are necessary for a genuine liberal education will be inevitably surrendered; and with the surrender the overwhelming majority of the students will be lost, with consequent change in educational standards, finally resulting in no standards at all. Meanwhile, the movement against the classics was gathering headway. The modern subjects clamored for recognition; throughout the country room was made for them by reducing the work in the classics, mathematics and philosophy. but that was not enough. Students were excused from Greek for weakness of the eyes and other specious reasons, and faculties became complaisant with the increase of faculty membership of those who knew not Joseph. With increasing strength the movement finally became so power-

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ful that one college after another gave up in despair. Popularization of education, the subordination of discipline to information in the state universities of the middle west, and the growing influence of the radical universities such as Cornell, Indiana and Stanford with their watchword of the equality of all subjects and the admissibility of all knowledge as a proper object of university study—all these principles began rapidly to bear fruit. Stanford opened in 1891 and adopted the most extreme radical principles, among them, of course, the granting of the degree of A. B. not only without Greek, but without anything specifically except some preparatory English. Other colleges were prescribing everything but Greek. The position was taken at Stanford that the degree does not stand for classical studies or for anything in particular, but merely for four years' residence and study in a university; and that the word "Arts" in the degree of Bachelor of Arts means anything taught in a university from philosophy to drawing. This extreme position of Stanford doubtless had influence in the debates of 1892 at our own university, and probably was a deterrent from radical action. And yet it is the only logical end, I say, in connection with the degree of A. B.; but the final logical result must be inevitably the abolishing of degrees altogether. A common degree of A. B. makes the degree a common degree and leads to an abandonment of standards and leads in the end to no degree at all. Even at present the only thing in which the colleges that have given up Greek for A. B. can agree on is that negative fact alone. There is nothing definite in their degree except the absence of Greek, and beyond that there is the utmost confusion. For they are groping about to find a substitute for Greek, but they will not find it because there is no substitute, and meanwhile public dissatisfaction with the results of modern college education is increasing daily. It is not without significance that the movement to abolish degrees altogether is strongest where the peculiar literary character of B. A. has been

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abolished. Why keep a degree that has become meaningless?

It is plain, then, that the founders of the University were aware of the attack on the classics, that they appreciated strongly the difficulties of establishing on firm ground the old culture in this state under the conditions that were prevailing from 1850 to 1870, and which still prevail, even more than during that period. It is also plain that the movement in this university against the classics began immediately with the Prospectus of the new university, being doubtless a reflexion of public opinion at the time, and that the Trustees of the College were deeply disappointed at the policy of the Regents—this is stated positively by Dr. Willey in a manuscript book now preserved in the Archives—in reference to the particular interests for which the old college stood. Such a result was not unexpected, for as Dr. Willey says in his history of the College, p. 206, "the very highest and most important objects which induced the founders to begin the College of California could never be secured in a State University"; and p. 212, "the *distinctive and uniform* four years' training of young men in the earliest part of their student life, as it had been maintained for so many generations in those colleges (the best New England colleges) *we enthusiastically believed in and meant to secure*". They had hoped that the College of Letters would be the centre of the new University; they were forced to see it subordinated to the colleges of the federal grant.

The depreciation of the classics has always been pronounced in the community at large in California, and it has gained in force with the years. The Trustees knew that the exclusive possession of the A. B. degree would be one of the most powerful buttresses of the classics by declaring the express policy of the University, and in their ingeniousness thought that the provision of the status of student at large would satisfy those who wished an education without Greek; but such persons could not have a degree. It is alto-

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gether inconceivable that the Trustees of the College of California could have regarded the present course in Social Sciences, which has neither prescribed Greek nor Latin, as an "academical course." A course corresponding to our course in Social Sciences actually existed in 1872 at Yale and led to the degree of Ph.B., which was speedily adopted in our university in a course parallel to the classical, as has been stated above. One of the attorneys who supplied a legal opinion in 1893 is the Hon. J. R. Glascock. He was a graduate of the College of California, a substituted graduate of the College of Letters, and he, like all the others, was of the opinion that the opening of the degree without Greek would be illegal and a breach of trust.

If, then, the power of the dead hand is invoked to maintain the exclusive character of the A. B. degree in this university when only Princeton, Pennsylvania, the Catholic University and Chicago of our sister universities of equal pretensions still demand Greek, what then shall be said? The Regents have never wavered: they have invariably executed trusts. In 1893 when the Faculty proposed to change the University Medal to a scholarship because of the great variety of courses taken by students and the difficulty of selecting the most distinguished graduate of the year, the Law Committee reported and the Regents adopted (Regents' Manual p. 227) a resolution, ordering the continuance of the medal, to the following effect: "It is of no importance that a compliance with the wishes of the donors has since become inconvenient or onerous; the trust they reposed in us, in the University, was absolute; it was upon the promise made on our part to forever devote the proceeds of the fund in the stipulated manner that they placed their moneys in our hands". Over and over again the Regents have discouraged sharp interpretations of the law or of the conditions of trusts. The Constitution declares that no person shall be debarred admission to any of the collegiate departments on account of sex. Once it was proposed informally that Mills College be secured and all

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the girls banished there so that the boys might be by themselves in Berkeley. Again, the federal act of 1862 provides that all states accepting the benefits of the Morrill gift should erect at least one college which must include military tactics in the curriculum. It has been proposed that this one college might with us be the College of Agriculture, and that students in the other colleges be freed from compulsory Military, or that even in the one college Military be merely offered, and not prescribed. Again, the Mills Professorship of Philosophy and Civil Polity has been richly endowed. Is not Civil Polity what is now known as Political Science, and why then should not the professor of Political Science be supported from the Mills fund? The Sather chair of Classical Literature was intended to endow the teaching of Latin or Greek or both, but who would deny that there is a classical literature in German, French, and English, as well as in Greek? The Regents have never listened to such proposals, and heretofore they have never listened to any contemplated breach of trust with the revered founders of the university in the matter of the A. B. degree. Any suspicion of sharp practice in administering endowments would speedily affect future gifts.

Our university is fortunate in many ways. It is fortunate in its constitutional guaranties which defend it from legislative caprice and popular fallacies. It is fortunate in the ideals expressed in the Organic Act, and it is especially fortunate in the restrictions on the Bachelor of Arts degree. Had it not been for legal barriers the University years ago would have undoubtedly yielded and joined the procession of other colleges in undermining the ancient learning. Had a similar legal obstacle existed in other universities, it is not probable that the conditions for the degree would have been changed elsewhere. In Germany, and at Oxford, and in various European countries the radical movement has been unsuccessful for similar reasons. The wise foresight of the founders is apparent.

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The degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of California has now an enviable distinction and the years will increase that distinction if the trust remains unimpaired. No persons realize this more than the alumni of the College of Letters, and they will be quick to resent any change which to them seems a robbery of their degree and a degradation of it.

And if the granting of the degree in this university without Greek is inconceivable, what shall be said about Latin? What would the founders have thought of the course in Natural Sciences without any Latin even for admission, and a curriculum made up wholly, so far as principles go, of modern subjects? The radicals, of course, are willing to throw over Latin as they are to abandon everything else. Stanford has never required it; most, perhaps all, of the state universities have given it up, Harvard does not require it after admission; but the "Eastern colleges" referred to by the California College Trustees either require it for admission or in college also. President Pritchett in the Report of the Carnegie Foundation for 1912, p. 105, says "in the eastern states all of the well known endowed institutions, with the exception of Cornell and Clark, require Latin for admission to the arts course". Cornell and Clark may be excluded, for (I mean no offense) they represent the radical position in different ways, and neither, moreover, was in existence at the time of the comparison made by the California Trustees; but Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Harvard, Amherst, Williams, Brown, Wesleyan, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Rutgers, Pennsylvania, and Johns Hopkins require at least four years of preparatory Latin for A.B., which is taken before entrance upon the curriculum and usually tested by thorough examination and not merely certified to by a high school principal. What would be the consternation of Professor Kellogg and President Durant, of Governor Haight and Dr. Stebbins, of John W. Dwinelle and Judge Wallace at a proposition to give the historic degree of Bachelor of Arts to a person

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excluded by his ignorance of Latin from direct access to the great sources of historical knowledge? Such a proposition was as unthinkable as would have been the banishing of the study of the English language from the University. When the degree of A.B. ceases to be given because of the death of the College of Letters because of lack of students, then, and not till then, it will be proper to consider whether it may be used for other purposes.

The degree of A.B. is a valuable inducement to students to enter the College of Letters. It is so highly prized, that every year students study Greek in order to secure the coveted distinction. In the class which graduated in 1910 five students to my certain knowledge studied Greek in order to win promotion to the best degree. And yet, in spite of the Greek requirement, there is no general hardship brought on students; for the other courses have steadily increased while Letters has decreased. Students have not gone off to other universities to get a poor A.B., and they have been quite content with B.L. and B.S. here. Occasionally, and very rarely, one who comes to us from another institution thinks he ought to have the degree without Greek and Latin, but among our own students there is no sign whatever of discontent with the present limitation. Tradition here restricts the A.B. to Greek, and the students think that any one who foolishly studies Greek deserves the degree: the labourer is worthy of his reward. Probably the majority of our students in Social and Natural Sciences do not know or care for the degree they are to receive; but not so with A.B. candidates; they know what they are working for.

2. *Destruction of the College of Letters.*

The University is pledged to maintain the College of Letters with its *full* course of studies. This does not mean the mere opportunity for study, for then it might be maintained that the College of Letters is characterized by the study of Hebrew or Sanskrit or Chinese or Physics, because those studies are now made optional in that College. The

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full course of studies in the minds of the founders meant the prescription of studies parallel to those which characterize the courses in Engineering. These have their own reward in the immediate earning power of their graduates, and they are so near alike that they are not embarassed by a common degree, although it would not be unwise for each one of them to have a distinctive degree. But in the College of Letters, as in the old College of California, the less important studies in the opinion of the Founders were made optional: the Classics were not included in such optional studies. For the experience of other universities shows what happens as soon as Greek and Latin are made optional. Thus at Stanford which draws its students from the same geographical area as our own University, in 1913 there was one graduate in Greek and but six in Latin, as compared with 24 in both in our College of Letters, besides six more in Latin from the College of Social Sciences; seven graduates in Classics at Stanford as compared with 30 here. There are no statistics available showing the entire number of classical students at Stanford and Berkeley. At Berkeley in 1911-12 there were 168 undergraduate members of the College of Letters out of a total undergraduate membership of 3602. The experience of universities shows in general that any relaxation of prescriptions, whether in Greek or Latin or Mathematics or Physics or anything else that is hard and unpopular is followed immediately by a diminution of the number of students who take such subjects; for that is the purpose of the relaxation. Even at Harvard an instructor in Classics has been dropped this year on account of the decreasing number of classical students. The object of prescription is to compel students, for their own advantage, to take subjects which would otherwise be neglected or destroyed by the absence of prescription. Whether prescription as a general principle is justifiable or not, does not enter into the present question, or whether one subject is as good as another and equally worthy or unworthy of being prescribed. The ques-

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tion at issue is the retention of the College of Letters, Classical Course, with its Arts degree. The opening of the degree of A.B. without Greek in the College of Letters would change the nature of that college fundamentally; the college would cease to be a classical college, for the classics would have no more favored position than any other subjects; indeed, not so highly favored as modern languages, which would surely be required from all students by common consent. The College of Letters would be changed to such a college as Social Sciences, or Natural Sciences in its present condition, by very force of numbers; for the 1138 undergraduate students of the year 1911-12 in Social Sciences added to the 862 in Natural Sciences would have utterly submerged the 168 in Letters. Thus the College of Letters would cease to exist as a classical college, and as such would be entirely suppressed. Such a result would follow from combining the three colleges into one, as a so-called college of Letters; the separate existence of the three with an identical degree would have the same result also; for, as has been shown above, the exclusive possession of the A.B. degree is the cause of many students enrolling in the present College of Letters. The only difference between the course in Letters and Social Sciences being the classics, it is plain that the inevitable effect, whether with one college or three, is to make the classics optional, and thus to destroy the peculiar character of the "College of Letters, Classical Course". The avowed object of opening the degree is to relieve students from the prescription of classics for the Arts degree, and such has been the expected result always and everywhere: an immediate decrease in the number of classical students who are released for work in other subjects. The ancient studies must suffer for their unpopularity and difficulty; the modern subjects are not satisfied with their attractiveness only, but demand also the distinction previously given to the ancient subjects. If students will not study Greek, Latin, Mathematics for A.B., why then, forsooth, they must have A.B.

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without Greek; for of course students must have what they want (although there is no evidence whatever that they want this particular thing), and modern subjects are humiliated by being deprived of the reward of the best degree, in the opinion of those who teach them.

The College of Letters has hitherto been the balance-wheel for the general culture side of the University. It has always provided the majority of members of Phi Beta Kappa; it has more often than any other college provided the Medalist; it has always stood for high standards of scholarship, even in student opinion; and its alumni have been to a marked degree men and women of distinction. The College of Social and Natural Sciences have been mere variants from Letters; all that is given in them is open to the Letters students, and every year there have been graduates from Letters who have specialized in Science and in other subjects besides the classics. The college has always continued the policy expressed in the last catalogue of the College of California, which has been quoted above. And the college is still classical. At present it demands 9 units of classics in college in addition to four years of preparatory Latin and three of Greek. In the class of 1912, however, the average of 30 graduates was 31 units of classical work out of 124 of the entire curriculum; excluding delayed high school work the average was 27.3 units of genuine college work; about a quarter of the whole. Thus it is apparent that the average graduate in Letters actually has a considerable training in the classics. Only three students out of 30 graduates of 1912 were satisfied with the minimum requirement of nine units, and all three had the full high school classical course. And it must be remembered that the reduction of the classics to the present amount of prescription has been made with the opposition of the classical members of the Faculty, and that the general regulations bear very heavily on classical students.

Thus the College of Letters is still theoretically the standard college of General Culture both in the qualifica-

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tions, attainments, prescriptions, and privileges of the students; Social and Natural Sciences are mere variants of it, even when far surpassing it in numbers, as is to be expected.

3. Finally, if the College of Letters be destroyed by being deprived of its essential characteristics which it now shares with its mother the College of California, the way is open to the heirs of Hillegass to attack the tenure of the campus. The present value of the campus is placed in the Secretary's report at $1,000,000; the original and most valuable part of it, at least, is subject to reversion in case it ceases to be used for "the contemplated college of California". The buildings, of course, go with the land. When such a prize may be disputed, it would appear rash to invite litigation and possible defeat or at the most a costly compromise. Where great values are involved, courts weigh words with the utmost care, and who knows how they would finally decide? There are lawyers enough who would be glad to take such a case on a contingent fee. The layman, of course, will regard such a plea as ridiculous and utterly improbable and contrary to common sense, but common sense is one thing while the law goes by rule and precedent. The contemplated College of California was a classical college, a fact that cannot be denied and which is likely to be insisted on with some colour of argument.

An A.B. of about a dozen years standing has suggested that the legislature be asked to enforce the trust by new legislation, in accordance with the constitutional provision.

This Brief does not pretend to discuss the question at issue from a general standpoint of educational theory, nor does it consider the problem, as it might be considered at other universities. The writer has no quarrel with those who hold conscientiously to other opinions; he has no intention of decrying or depreciating other studies or the practice of other universities. Nor does the writer fail to

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comprehend the difficulties that time has brought with the introduction of new subjects, and the relative unpopularity of the classics. But the Trustees of the College of California have made a bargain, and the University is bound to abide by it. The honour of this University is at stake; and those who have the great responsibility of the preliminary or final decision in the matter should act with full knowledge of all the factors concerned. Indeed, this question of honour is really the sole justification of this Brief, for the traditional labelling of graduates with degrees is in itself a very trivial matter and insignificant in comparison with the larger interests of the University. In defense of the honour of the University this Brief has been written.

May 31, 1913.

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THE LONG BALLOT AS A CAUSE OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION

THOMAS H. REED

Students of politics in the United States have known for a long time that our ballot is too long. Comments have been made from time to time upon the impossible burden of determining the merits of numerous candidates for a multitude of positions and upon the confusion of state and city administration produced by electing one man to be the nominal chief of the administration while at the same time electing several others, not necessarily in sympathy with the first, to conduct many of its most important branches. Any thinking man who has ever cast a ballot in state or city elections knows of the feeling of helplessness with which he faces the problem of discriminating between the candidates for the various minor offices. Such circumstances as the New York state election of 1908, in which Governor Hughes, really chosen by the people because of his high character and splendid boss-free record, was accompanied into office by a crew of state politicians selected by the very men against whom he had made that record, have set people to thinking of the folly of a divided responsibility in state government. Of late we have had a Short Ballot Organization, including among its officers and members some of the most distinguished public men in the United States. Statesmen of such differences of opinion on

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other subjects as Taft, Roosevelt and Wilson agree in condemning the long ballot. The voter, at a state election in California, casts his ballot for some forty different officers, besides the important one of governor. In New York City, in the four year cycle, according to Mr. Richard S. Childs, Secretary of the Short Ballot Organization, four hundred offices are filled by vote of the people, and the number is even greater in Chicago and Philadelphia. Add to all of this the increasingly large number of constitutional amendments, bond issues, local option, initiative and referendum, and recall propositions in connection with which the people are called upon to exercise the elective franchise, and it is easy to see that we have placed upon our people a burden too hard to bear. No man who does not make a business of politics can vote with genuine intelligence except for a very few of the most important officers.

The long ballot does not exist anywhere else in the world. The voters of England, France and Prussia, presumably as intelligent as those in this country, are not called upon to participate in any such tremendous selective process as that imposed on our people. The English voter casts his ballot for a member of Parliament on an average of once every five years. He votes for one member of the borough council every year, except in certain of the smaller boroughs which are not divided into wards, where he may have to vote for a larger number of members but where the limited size of the constituency pretty well guarantees that all candidates will be fairly well known to the voter. He also casts his ballot for two borough auditors each year, whose office is of no real importance—the actual auditing of accounts ordinarily being done by public accountants chosen for the purpose. If he lives in a city of less than fifty thousand, he will also have to vote for a member of the county council once in three years and at intervals for members of the Board of Guardians. All this is on the supposition that he is a city dweller. If he lives in a rural portion of the country, he will vote for a member of the

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county council once in three years and for rural district councilors and members of the parish council at varying intervals and in varying numbers. The French voter casts his ballot for a member of the Chamber of Deputies once in four years, for a member of the General Council (of the Department) every six years, for a member of council of the arondissement every six years, and for four or five members of the communal council every four years. In the smaller cities which are not divided into districts for the purpose of electing members of the communal council this number may be larger. The Prussian voter casts his ballot for a member of the Imperial Reichstag every five years; for a member of the Prussian House of Representatives every three years; for a member of the city assembly every year if he is rich and every three years if he is poor. If he dwells in the country he also votes for a member of the Circle Diet every three years. Briefly, in European countries they have the short ballot.

The origin of the American system is to be found in the great democratic movement of 1830 to 1850, the effect of which on party organization and methods of nomination to office we have already commented upon. It so happened that this period was one of very rapid expansion of the social and economic, and, consequently, of the political arrangements of our people. Many new offices had to be created, and some means had to be found of selecting persons to fill them. The original state constitutions had given the appointment of the few important administrative offices required under the simple conditions of the time to the Legislature, or, in a few states, to the governor. The method of appointment by the legislature proved to be unsatisfactory. The general causes which led to the decline of the legislature led to its dealing with the places within its gift in a spirit of jobbery and corruption. At the same time there was some fear of entrusting to the governor of the state a great power of appointment. In the face of these difficulties, what was more natural than to entrust

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to the people themselves the task of choosing these officers. It was easy to assume that the people would be best represented by men whom they themselves selected, and in the full belief that they were doing the democratic thing, constitution-makers and amenders, provided for the election of the principal state officers by the people. In consequence, the average American state elects not only a governor and a lieutenant-governor, but also a controller or auditor, a treasurer, an attorney-general, a superintendent of public education, a surveyor-general or land registrar, and, in some states, a state engineer. This is a very conservative list, as in practically every state there are other elective officers more or less numerous filling a great variety of positions. The judges, also, who, under most of the early state constitutions were elected by the legislature, came in like manner to be elected by the people. In only a very few states are the judges appointed; and in some states not only are the judges elected but the clerk of the supreme court is also chosen by the people. The same causes operated to increase the number of elective officers in cities and other units of local government. The only reason, in all probability, that the government of the United States was not affected in the same direction was the extreme difficulty of amending the constitution of the United States. The government of the United States, therefore, stands alone among our numerous communiy of governments. As the result of earlier influences it is highly centralized, the number of officers elected very small, and, while the long ballot of our states and subdivisions operates to a considerable extent to deteriorate the personnel of the House of Representatives, that is not the fault of our national constitution.

Although the elective principle was extended to so numerous a list of positions in the name of democracy, the long ballot has turned out to be anything but a democratic institution. A fair test of the democratic character of any governmental device may be presumed to be the question—does it or does it not bring to pass the real will of the

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people? As a matter of fact, the people never really choose the minor officers for whom they vote. In the first place, the citizen does not have an opportunity to make an intelligent choice. He is ignorant of the character of the position to be filled, and of the qualifications necessary to fill it. He is also ignorant of the extent to which the various candidates possess these or any other qualifications. They are simply so many names to him. The writer has made it a practice with numerous audiences to ask them how many knew the names of the incumbents of each of the elective state officers other than governor and lieutenant-governor. This is a more than fair test, because these men were the successful candidates, and may be presumed to have gained some notoriety by their success. They have been for some time incumbents of the places they occupy, a fact which brings them into contact with considerable numbers of people. The replies of the audiences varied from total ignorance to about twenty-five per cent of knowledge. The only audience the writer found who anything like unanimously knew the name of a state officer, was an audience of about two hundred school teachers in Los Angeles, practically all of whom knew the name of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The voter is also confused by the size and complicated arrangement of the ballot. Under such circumstances, he naturally votes his party ticket straight on the assumption that, other things being equal, the men nominated by his party will better satisfy him than the men nominated by the other party. This is what President Eliot says he does, and it is what practically all of us are obliged to confess that we do. Of course, being ignorant, the voter is not in position to criticise his party's choice either before or after election. Little information filters through the press concerning these minor offices, and the voter never really comes to know how his party choice fills the position. Those exceptional cases in which some startling malfeasance in office bring one of them into a sudden and unsavory prominence,

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go to prove the rule. Applying, then, our democratic test to the long ballot, we can not escape the conclusion that, whatever else it may be, it is not democratic.

We still might have ground for consolation if by a means however undemocratic, the offices were well filled. The political machines, however, which make up the slates of candidates, have, in general, filled the minor places badly. It is true that some of the state officers are splendid men, and that the great majority of them are passably honest, but taken by and large they are not competent. This is not to be wondered at. These officers not being subject to popular criticism, the machines and bosses are at liberty to put up whom they please for these positions. They choose the men who will do their bidding, or who will strengthen their organization. Now, the qualities of mind which make a man subservient to the bosses do not generally make him an efficient servant of the people. Neither is ability to win votes by bar-front or demagogic methods always synonymous with real administrative ability. We have, then, a situation in which these numerous elective officers furnish a means of political corruption, and at the same time give the state inefficient officers. The introduction of the direct primary will work no improvement. The people are no more competent at the direct primary to discriminate between the candidates for these minor offices than they are at the election. Indeed, the fact that they have to go through the process of selection twice is a cause of still further confusion to them. In consequence, the men who prepare the pre-primary slate are in at least the same position as the men who in older times prepared the pre-election slate. Add to these evils disorganization of administration by entrusting it to a whole series of independently elected officers who are as likely to hate as to love one another, a consequence upon which we shall dwell at length hereafter, and we have a situation thoroughly discouraging to the lover of good government.

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There is, however, light ahead. Our American cities, of which Mr. Bryce said a few years ago, that they were the one conspicuous failure of our governmental system, have been rapidly throwing off the shackles of the long ballot. The commission form of government, which obtained its great forward impetus through the success of the Galveston experiment, is the short ballot and little more. The reason for its success is its simplicity. For the first time, we have a form of government in American cities that is so simple that the responsibility for good or ill conduct in any city or department clearly attaches to a few individuals. The ballot is short. In Sacramento, which carries the plan to the extreme limit, the people choose one city councillor a year. This is a short enough ballot to suit anybody, and if the people of Sacramento can not elect a good city councillor once a year they deserve to have a bad government. California, indeed, is taking the lead in the direction of the short ballot. The legislative session of 1911 reduced the number of state elective officers for which each voter must cast his ballot, by three. The same legislature enacted a freeholder charter plan for counties which permits counties to make the usual county administrative officers appointive by the board of supervisors. Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties have already, under this provision, framed a charter on the short ballot principle. Old Bishop Berkeley prophesied that westward the course of empire would take its way. Having flowed west to the apparently impassable barrier of the Pacific, the tide of human progress is turning back upon itself. The East can learn much from the freedom-loving, progressive West.

It would not do to leave this subject without offering for the reader's consideration a suggested short ballot plan. Here it is.

NOVEMBER ELECTION

First year—President and Vice-President for four years. United States Senator for six years. Member of House of Representatives for two years.

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Second year—Governor for four years. Lieutenant-Governor for four years. State Senator (in half of districts) for four years. Assemblyman for two years.

Third year—Member of House of Representatives for two years.

Fourth year—State Senator (in half of districts) for four years. Assemblyman for two years.

SPRING ELECTION

Each year.—City Councilman for five years, or Member of the Township Board for three years. Member of the County Board for five years. Member of the School Board for five years.

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MONTHLY AND SEASONAL METEOROLOGICAL SUMMARY FOR 1912-13
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Month 1912-13	Air Pressure	Air Temperature									Moisture							
		Means					Extremes				Dew Point		Vapor Pressure		Relative Humidity		Amount of Cloud	
	Reduced to Sea Level	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	Maximum	Minimum	Monthly	Maximum	Date	Minimum	Date	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.	8:00 a.m.	8:00 p.m.
	inches	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.		°F.		°F.	°F.	inch	inch	%	%	tenths	tenths
July	30.02	57.5	55.9	70.2	53.0	61.6	79.0	16	48.0	7	53	53	.406	.407	86	90	8	5
August	29.98	59.8	57.8	73.5	53.8	63.6	81.7	7	48.9	29	54	55	.416	.435	83	92	5	3
September	29.96	60.6	60.6	75.6	55.6	65.6	100.8	18	48.2	3	56	56	.446	.451	85	87	5	5
October	30.03	53.6	54.0	71.9	48.1	60.0	86.2	13	43.1	24	47	47	.322	.326	79	79	3	1
November	30.13	50.7	53.2	63.9	47.4	55.6	71.2	26	42.5	30	46	47	.316	.324	86	81	4	2
December	30.23	44.2	47.5	58.6	42.0	50.3	63.2	7	35.3	27	37	40	.229	.254	78	76	4	3
January	30.14	41.5	44.7	54.0	38.3	46.2	68.2	31	27.7	6	36	38	.222	.239	83	79	5	3
February	30.04	45.3	48.2	60.6	42.2	51.4	72.8	15	32.9	23	39	42	.244	.272	81	82	6	2
March	30.18	45.7	48.2	62.2	41.5	51.8	77.8	7	34.9	24	41	43	.261	.279	85	82	6	3
April	30.08	52.7	50.9	66.3	45.7	56.0	86.6	24	39.0	6	46	45	.308	.305	79	81	5	4
May	30.03	55.9	53.9	67.7	49.0	58.4	80.2	30	43.1	13	49	49	.342	.355	79	86	6	5
June	29.98	58.7	57.3	70.6	51.3	61.0	83.5	30	45.7	9	52	52	.385	.389	78	84	6	4
Season	30.07	52.2	52.7	66.2	47.3	56.7	100.8	Sept. 18	27.7	Jan. 6	46	47	.325	.336	82	83	5	3

Observations made daily at 8. a. m. and 8 p. m. Pacific (120th meridian) time.

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Latitude 37° 52′ North. Longitude 122° 16′ West. Altitude 321 feet.

Thermometers 5 feet above ground. Rain-gauge 15 feet above ground.

Month 1912-1913	Precipitation			Weather (Number of Days)						Wind Direction at 8 A.M. and 8 P.M. (Number of Observations)								
	Total	Most in a day		Clear	Partly Cloudy	Cloudy	With Fog	With Rain		N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.	Calm
		Amt.	Date					00.1″ and over	0.04″ and over									
	inches	inches																
July	0	0	.....	5	20	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	6	19	15	8	1	13
August	0	0	.....	12	15	4	3	0	0	1	0	0	4	10	18	7	0	22
September	1.46	0.90	6	17	5	8	8	3	3	4	0	1	4	26	13	6	1	5
October	0.70	0.29	25	19	11	1	1	5	4	6	0	0	4	25	9	6	8	4
November	3.89	2.39	6	15	6	9	5	10	6	3	0	0	3	29	7	7	9	2
December	1.62	0.70	16	15	8	8	2	6	5	10	2	1	8	14	9	1	7	10
January	3.78	0.82	15	15	5	11	5	11	10	11	1	1	7	21	4	2	4	11
February	0.64	0.37	24	12	6	10	6	7	3	9	3	4	4	16	4	4	3	9
March	1.98	0.84	18	15	7	9	5	5	5	6	0	0	0	18	18	3	8	9
April	0.57	0.20	3	11	15	4	1	5	5	1	0	0	6	22	10	7	8	6
May	0.99	0.41	27	11	12	8	0	6	5	2	2	0	2	9	14	3	1	29
June	T	T	22	12	12	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	9	23	5	1	17
Season	15.63	2.39	Nov. 6	159	122	84	40	58	46	53	8	7	53	218	144	59	51	137

Observations by Department of Geography in co-operation with U. S. Weather Bureau.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD

VICTOR H. HENDERSON

That research is a primary function of the modern university has long been recognized in the activities of the University of California. This purpose has been confirmed by many specific benefactions to the University, such as the creation of the Lick Observatory, Mrs. Hearst's provision for the ethnological survey of the state of California and for the Museum of Anthropology, Miss Alexander's provision for the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, the endowment of various research fellowships and scholarships, etc.

But the greatest benefaction ever received by the University of California for the endowment of research was announced by President Wheeler on Commencement Day. This was the gift of Mrs. Hooper of property valued at much over a million dollars for the endowment of the George Williams Hooper School of Medical Research. Eventually the endowment for this great enterprise will be about two million dollars.

The entire income from this endowment is to be devoted to investigation as to the causes of disease. Already an income of fifty thousand dollars per annum is available for the work, so that the coming year will probably see a beginning of the activities of the Foundation. It is expected that at the expiration of four years the income will be approximately one hundred thousand dollars per annum. The University is to have the aid of an advisory board which will include in its membership President Wheeler, as President of the University of California; Henry Smith Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation; a representative of Johns Hopkins Medical School; Simon Flexner, head of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt, Dean of the Medical School; Mr. E. H. Connolly, representing Mrs. Hooper, and a seventh member to be chosen by the western members of the board.

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"Who can tell," said President Wheeler, in his Commencement announcement of the gift, "what will come for the blessing of mankind from this purpose that I have announced to you today? Mr. Hooper, a son of the state of Maine, but for all his life identified with the interests of San Francisco, was a sufferer for a greater part of his life from physical trouble which evaded the skill and knowledge of the men of medicine. He knew that he could not be helped but he wondered if it would not be possible for him to do something that others might be spared the suffering which had come to him. His devoted wife, who lived only in the thought of him and the desire to fill the measure of his existence, has thus made possible the fulfillment of his desire. Who can tell what will be the issue hereof."

Mrs. Hooper's gift comes to the University in the form of some five thousand acres of virgin redwood forest in Humboldt county, not far distant from Eureka.

A NEW TEACHING HOSPITAL

That gifts aggregating $479,250 had been made for the erection of a new teaching hospital for the Medical Department of the University, with the prospect of an ultimate total of $600,000, was announced by President Wheeler on Commencement Day.

"These gifts," said President Wheeler, "have been assembled largely through the untiring effort of Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt, Professor of Medicine and Dean of the Medical School. The Medical School is being established on a new basis, according to new light. An effort has been made among friends to raise funds for the building of hospitals. A teaching hospital is absolutely lacking. There are various forms of hospitals. We propose that our medical school shall have a hospital which is outright a teaching hospital, not mixed with the service of other ideals. A number of gifts are promised, all dependent on the sum of $600,000 being obtained. The amount will be raised. It must be that there are people here in this place who will even that up. The gifts to date are as follows: The Crocker family, in memory of Mr. George Crocker: Mrs. Harriet Alexander, $50,000; William H. Crocker, $50,000; Templeton Crocker, $25,000; Mrs. Malcolm Whitman, $25,000. John Keith, in memory of his wife, $150,000; George Whittell, $25,000; Gordon Blanding, $25,000; Mrs. F. W. Sharon, $25,000; Mrs. Elise A. Drexler, $10,000; Mrs. James Moffitt, $10,000; S. Chamberlain, $10,000; C. F. Kohl, $10,000; W. B. Bourn, $10,000; Mrs. Jeanette Jordan, $5000, James Irvine, $5000, James K. Moffitt, $5000; P. E. Bowles, $5000; a friend of the University, $5000; Herbert and Mortimer Fleischhacker, $5000; John Martin, $2500; Jacob Stahl,

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$2500; Roos Brothers $2500; Antoine Borel, $2500; Ghirardelli & Company, $2000; D. Ghirardelli, $1500; Edward Coleman, $1250; M. Meyerfeld, $1000; L. Bissinger, $1000; A. Mack, $1000; Wallace Alexander, $1000; A. Schilling, $1000; Mrs. Hattie Simon, $1000; Wm. Fries, $500; N. Fontana, $500; L. Schwabacker, $500; Sanford Sachs, $500; M. Strasberger, $500; Mrs. E. L. Dow, $1000.

The President also announced that Mrs. E. A. Drexler will support several beds for cancer cases in the hospital and that Dr. W. C. Chidester has announced his desire to found a permanent free bed as soon as the new hospital is ready for patients.

DEATH OF PROFESSOR THERESE F. COLIN

Mme. Thérèse F. Colin, head of the Department of French in Wellesley College, and founder of the Thérèse F. Colin European Traveling Fellowship in the University of California, died on April 7, 1913. Mme. Colin deeded to the University of California ten years ago property in Oceanside, Redlands, and Escondido, valued at approximately $11,000. It was provided by the terms of her gift that the income should be paid to her throughout her lifetime and after her death applied to the support of a traveling fellowship to be awarded annually to some graduate of the University of California for study in Europe in the Romanic languages. By her will Mme. Colin made the University her residuary legatee, this additional benefaction to be added to the Fellowship fund.

Professor Colin had studied at the University of Paris, at the Sorbonne, at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, and at the Ecole des Chartes in Paris, had taken a master's degree at Stanford, and the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. She taught at Bryn Mawr, and for the past eight years was head of the Department of French at Wellesley. She had been decorated by the French Government with the insignia of Officier de l'Academie, and also with the insignia of Officier de l'Instruction Publique.

Mrs. Minna E. Sherman of Fresno, on March 10, 1913, appointed a Regent of the University, died on April 21 at Fresno. Through illness she had been prevented from attending any of the meetings of the Board. Her death deprives the Board of Regents of the aid of a woman who had achieved distinguished success in agriculture and horticulture, and who had performed valuable service to the life of the community.

Dr. George Herman Powers, Emeritus Professor of Ophthalmology in the Medical Department, died in May, 1913.

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GIFTS TO THE UNIVERSITY

Mrs. Annie M. Alexander gave $4110 during the half-year ending December 31, 1912, for the support of the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology. The Museum now contains a total of 23,513 birds, 19,202 mammals, and 4,786 reptiles.

The Alumni Council of the Newman Club has given $100 for the first award in the Newman Hall Prize Essay competition.

An alumnus has given $4000 to be used partly for the immediate purchase of books in history and partly for endowment for the University Library.

Charles L. Camp of Sierra Madre, Los Angeles County, has presented to the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology 595 specimens of reptiles and amphibians gathered by himself in Southern California.

The Class of 1881 has added $50 more to its endowed loan fund.

The Class of 1897 has given $1005 as endowment for a loan fund. Loans from the fund will be made by a committee consisting of the President of the University, the Recorder of the Faculties, and the Dean of Women. Both the principal and the income of the fund may be loaned. The class plans to augment the endowment hereafter.

Regent William H. Crocker has given $5500 to send an expedition from the Lick Observatory to observe the total eclipse of the sun on August 21, 1914, the sequel of many such gifts by him in the past for a like purpose.

Five members of the Dental Department faculty have given $400 toward the salary of the instructorship in Prosthetic Technics. The donors were Drs. J. D. Hodgen, G. L. Bean, J. B. Tufts, W. F. Sharp, and J. G. Sharp.

Mrs. Elise A. Drexler has offered a gift of $2400 per annum for the maintenance of four beds for cancer cases in the University Hospital.

A friend of the University has given $4000 for the endowment of the Horatio Stebbins Scholarship. This endowment represents money which the donor received and used for her own education, and which she now in this manner returns for the help of other women students.

Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst has offered a gift of $1000 per annum to increase the salary of the Professorship of Mining and Metallurgy.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Hearst a curving driveway is being built as an approach to the Hearst Memorial Mining Building, together with monumental approaches for the building, in brick and granite.

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Samuel C. Irving, '79, has given $25 for a special prize for the best cartoon drawn by a student of the University during 1912–13.

Sir Richard M'Bride, Premier of British Columbia, gave $500 for books or equipment dealing with Pacific Coast History.

The McNamara Mining Company, through J. L. Josephs, its president, has given to the University a valuable mine model.

Miss Anna Meta Tietjen, '08, has given $125 for an undergraduate scholarship for next year. This represents the amount of a scholarship which she received in 1907 after the San Francisco fire.

COMMENCEMENT HONORS

At Commencement, on May 14, in the Greek Theatre, the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon William W. Morrow, Judge of the United States Circuit Court; Hon. William H. Beatty, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of California; Dr. John Knox McLean, President Emeritus of the Pacific Theological Seminary; John Muir, man of letters and of science, and John Swett, founder of the school system of California. The words in which President Wheeler conferred these honorary degrees were as follows:

To Chief Justice William Henry Beatty "a man of integrity and conscience, by his office and his person the firm and central pillar in the structure of the State"; to Judge William W. Morrow, "ready to all good work in public service, as judge and citizen humane and just and cheerful"; to Rev. John Knox McLean, "a man of statesmanlike oversight regarding the organization of professional education, potent guide and counsellor of young men marked with his own virility, effective supporter of all good civic causes, sturdy man of wisdom and common sense"; to John Swett, "more than any man who lives or has lived responsible for what is best in our California public schools, teacher and friend of teachers, educational statesman"; to John Muir, "born in Scotland, reared in the University of Wisconsin, by final choice a Californian, widely traveled observer of the world we dwell in, man of science and of letters, friend and protector of nature, uniquely gifted to interpret unto other men her mind and ways."

Degrees in course were awarded to 725 persons. There were 534 bachelor's degrees, 90 master's, 12 doctors, 10 doctors of philosophy, and 79 degrees for graduates of the professional colleges in San Francisco.

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UNIVERSITY MEDAL

The University Medal, awarded annually to the most distinguished graduate of the year, was given to John Lowrey Simpson of the College of Social Sciences.

Awards of prizes were announced on Commencement Day as follows:

Emily Chamberlain Cook Prize in Poetry, Mary Carolyn Davies.

Irving prizes: comic story, Mary Carolyn Davies; comic drawing, Wyman Taylor; Honorable Mention, Constant Havens Robinson.

Women's Christian Temperance Union Essay Prize, Milton Marks.

Bonnheim Discussion prizes: upper division, William Glenn Marvin; lower division; Randall Mills Dorton.

Bonnheim Dissertation prizes: upper division, Hugh Joel Weldon, Margaret May Altucker, William Glenn Marvin; lower division, Orville Reddick Emerson, Hubert Julian Stowitts, Randall Mills Dorton, Herman Adolph Spindt.

Bryce Historical Essay Prize, Tracy Barrett Kittredge.

CARNOT MEDAL

The Carnot medal, given annually by Pierre de Coubertin to winners of the annual Carnot debate with Stanford on some theme drawn from current French public affairs, was this year awarded to J. J. Miller, '13, of the University of California.

COLONEL OF THE UNIVERSITY CADETS

Irving Henry Clausen received the honor of appointment as Colonel of the University Cadets for 1913.

BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

During the past winter 18,877 trees were planted by the University in the watershed of Strawberry Cañon, in the region between the Greek Theatre and Sugarloaf, now the eastern boundary of the 520 acres of the campus. In the nursery 3360 deciduous trees of thirty varieties, from Tennessee, and 4800 conifers imported from France, including many varieties not available in any other nursery in California, are being made ready for next season's planting.

Additions to the Printing Office and to the Hygiene and Pathology Building, costing, including equipment, $13,000 for each building, have been ordered built.

A hog barn and show room for swine is being built at the University Farm. The cost will be $5000.

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Land near Albany is to be purchased as a permanent site for the hog serum laboratory. At this laboratory, which is immediately north of the Berkeley town line, the University will prepare serum to immunize swine against hog cholera.

In order that the Swimming Pool in Strawberry Cañon may at any time be supplied with water from the city mains a pipe line is being laid from Bacon Hall to the pool, and an additional reservoir is being installed near the dairy barn.

The Permanent Building Fund for 1913–14 will consist of $217,924.

APPOINTMENTS

[Unless otherwise specified, all the following appointments, etc., are from July 1, 1913.]

Professor of Animal Husbandry, Gordon H. True, now Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and Professor of Animal Husbandry in the University of Nevada.

Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Dr. Josiah Morris Slemons, of Johns Hopkins University.

Professor of Pediatrics (in the Medical Department), Dr. William Palmer Lucas, of Boston.

Professor of Plant Pathology in the Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture and Plant Pathologist in the Citrus Experiment Station, Dr. J. F. Barrett, from August 1.

Lecturer in International Law and Jurisprudence, for 1913–14, Edward H. Elliot, Professor of Politics in Princeton University.

Secretary to the President, Clare Morse Torrey, '13.

Associate Professor of Bacteriology and Protozoölogy, Dr. Carl Frederick Meyer.

Associate Professor of German, Herman J. Weber.

Assistant Professor of Agricultural Chemistry, D. R. Hoagland.

Assistant Professor of Agricultural Chemistry, Guy R. Stewart.

Assistant Professor of Agricultural Extension, B. H. Crocheron. Professor Crocheron will also be State Leader for California in the office of Farm Management of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Assistant Professor of Botany, Nathaniel Lyon Gardner.

Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Dr. Joel Hildebrand.

Assistant Professor of Mechanics, William F. Martin.

Assistant Professor of Soil Technology, J. W. Nelson, from August 15.

Lecturer in Architecture, William E. Leland.

Lecturer in Accounting, John T. Forbes.

Lecturer in Economics, Miss Lucile Eaves.

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Instructors: Seth Barnes Nicholson, Practical Astronomy; W. W. Lyman, Jr., '07, Celtic and English; J. E. Shaefer, Prosthetic Technic, in the Dental Department; Fred Eugene Pernot, Electrical Engineering; Clair Hadyn Bell, German; Herman Schwarz, German; Dr. Arthur H. Morse, Obstetrics and Gynecology (Medical Department); Newton B. Drury, '12, Oral English; W. P. Roop, Physics; Forest Eugene Spencer, Spanish.

Senior Assistant in the University Library, W. K. Porter.

Classifier in the University Library, Edwin Wiley, from May 1, 1913.

Assistant in English and History (in the University Farm School), Tracy R. Kelley.

Assistant to the Dean of the University Farm School, Thomas Tavernetti.

Assistant Curator of Birds in the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, Dr. Harold C. Bryant, from June 1, 1913.

Assistant Ophthalmologist in the University Infirmary, Dr. Milton Henry Schutz.

Assistant Medical Examiners: Dr. Kate Gompertz and Dr. Ellen Smith Stadtmuller.

Secretary of the Department of Education, Ocheltree Seawell Hubbard.

Secretary of the Lick Observatory, Miss Clarice Davis.

Agassiz Research Assistant in Zoology, Miss Mabel Guernsey.

Assistants: Harold E. Billings, Laboratory Assistant in Agricultural Chemistry; Miss Mabel Arrington, Anatomy; Miss Alma M. Stotts, Astronomy; Dolores E. Bradley, Bacteriology; Dr. C. R. Christiansen, Bacteriology and Pathology; Arthur H. Ayres, Botany; Harry S. Yates, Botany; W. Meyer, Chemistry; Dr. F. H. Zumwalt, Dermatology; Paul F. Brissenden, Economics; E. G. Clewe, Economics; Horace Albright, Economics; Roy Robert Morse, Geology; C. B. Goodykoontz, History; K. C. Leebrick, History; W. C. Westergaard, History; Dr. Harry E. Foster, Medicine; Edward G. Stricklen, Music; Dr. Walter I. Baldwin, Orthopedics, from September 15; Dr. A. W. Johnson, Otology, Rhinology, and Laryngology; James N. Patterson, in the Chemical Laboratory of the California College of Pharmacy; Richard A. Lee, Physical Culture; Miss Mary Shafter, Physical Culture; Willard Gardner, Physics; Warren Gayman, Physics; George W. Hann, Physics; Howard S. Miller, Physics; John A. Montgomery, Physics; Shirley L. Quimby, Physics; John P. Van Zandt, Physics; E. Otis Vaughn, Physics; Albert F. Wagner, Physics; Irene Agnes McCulloch, Zoology; J. D. McDonald, Zoology; B. H. Pratt, Zoology.

Instructor Freehand Drawing (in the Wilmerding School), Miss Ruth W. Gabriel.

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Technician in Clinical Pathology, Mrs. Pauline C. Whitman.

Technician in Pathology, Mrs. Clara Carver Russell.

Teaching Fellows: Morse A. Cartwright, English; Joe Goodrick Sweet, '12, Forensics; G. Irving Gavett, Mathematics; James Arthur Nyswander, Mathematics.

Native Sons Fellowships in Pacific Coast History: William Lytle Schurz, Resident Fellow; Charles Henry Cunningham, Resident Fellow, and Charles Edward Chapman, Traveling Fellow.

Helper in the Department of Geology and Mineralogy, Fred E. Bourne, from June 1, 1913.

Helper in Zoölogy, Taylor Jordan.

Promotions and Changes in Title

(From July 1, 1913)

Dr. J. Henry Senger, to be Professor of German, with the quality from July 1 of Professor Emeritus.

Dr. W. B. Lewitt, to be Emeritus Professor of Pediatrics, in recognition of his service of thirty-four years in the Medical Department of the University of California.

David Prescott Barrows, to be Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Faculties.

A. O. Leuschner, to be Professor of Astronomy and Dean of the Graduate School.

John Galen Howard, to be Professor of Architecture and Director of the School of Architecture.

Dr. R. G. Boone, to be Professor of Education and Acting Director of the School of Education.

William Carey Jones, to be Professor of Jurisprudence and Director of the School of Jurisprudence.

John Aloysius Stanton, to be Professor of Drawing and Painting and acting Dean of the Faculty in the San Francisco Institute of Art.

C. E. Rugh, to be Professor of Education.

Dr. A. H. Suggett, to be Professor of Orthodontia in the Dental Department.

A. M. Kidd, to be Associate Professor of Law.

A. S. Eakle, to be Associate Professor of Mineralogy.

Haydn Mozart Simmons, to be Associate Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy and Lecturer on Toxicology in the California College of Pharmacy.

Dr. Joseph H. Moore, to be Assistant Astronomer in the Lick Observatory.

Roscoe F. Sanford, to be Assistant Astronomer with the D. O. Mills Expedition from the Lick Observatory, at Santiago, Chile.

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R. W. Harvey, to be Assistant Professor of Anatomy.

T. T. Waterman, to be Assistant Professor of Anthropology.

A. C. Alvarez, to be Assistant Professor of Civil Engineering.

H. S. Griswold, to be Assistant Professor of Civil Engineering.

Pedro Lemos, to be Assistant Professor of Decorative Design in the San Francisco Institute of Art.

Carleton H. Parker, to be Assistant Professor of Industrial Economy.

William F. Martin, Assistant Professor of Engineering Mechanics.

Matthew C. Lynch, to be Assistant Professor of Law.

Warner Brown, to be Assistant Professor of Psychology.

C. D. von Neumayer, to be Assistant Professor of Public Speaking.

Instructors: C. B. Bennett, Physiological Chemistry; M. T. Rhodes, Clinical Dentistry; Miss Helena Allen, Drawing, in the San Francisco Institute of Art; J. S. Bolin, Education; J. Van Nostrand, Ancient History; R. M. Scott, Physical Culture; Dr. Saxton T. Pope, Surgery; Dr. W. P. Willard, Urology.

George F. Wood, to be Dean of the Wilmerding Trades School.

Dr. E. S. Kilgore, Assistant in Medicine and Research Assistant in the University Infirmary.

Captain W. C. Crandall, Business Agent of the Scripps Institution for Biological Research. He has assumed also the duties formerly attaching to the Secretaryship of that Institution.

Frank C. Stevens, to be Chief Clerk in the President's Office.

Mrs. Gwendolan Newall, Assistant in the Medical Department, in charge of Social Service Work.

Eli Stuart Haynes, to be Martin Kellogg Fellow at the Lick Observatory.

Assistants: Dolores B. Bradley, Bacteriology; Grace F. Griffiths, Bacteriology.

RESIGNATIONS

The resignations mentioned below are from June 30, 1913, unless otherwise specified.

Professor of Dairy Industry, Leroy Anderson.

Professor of Drawing and Painting and Dean of the Faculties of the San Francisco Institute of Art, Theodore Wores.

Clinical Professor of Pediatrics, Dr. W. B. Lewitt, from June 30, 1913.

Associate Professor of Bacteriology, Dr. J. G. Fitzgerald, from June 30, 1913.

Assistant Professor of Chemistry, William Conger Morgan.

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Assistant Professor of Decorative Design, in the San Francisco Institute of Art, Charles F. Ingerson.

Secretary to the President and Lecturer in Law, Farnham P. Griffiths.

Lecturer in Law, Max Thelen.

Secretary of the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, George A. Haines, from April 1, 1913.

Instructors: A. J. Gaumnitz, Agronomy, from April 1, 1913; F. H. Bolster, Botany and Horticulture (at the University Farm School); Paul V. Faragher, Chemistry; Miss Gertrude Morin Withers, Instructor in Drawing (in the San Francisco Institute of Art); Miss Florence Reinhold, Freehand Drawing (in the Wilmerding Trades School); Dr. Samuel W. Hussey, Extracting (in the College of Dentistry); A. M. Cleghorn, English (at the University Farm).

Assistants: Dr. Paul Castlehun, Medicine; John A. Montgomery, Physics; Dr. S. E. Bailey, Physiology; John N. Loshinski, Zoölogy.

Fellow in the Lick Observatory, Clifford C. Crump.

Helper in the Department of Geology and Mineralogy, R. M. Rowe, from May 31, 1913.

Leaves of absence for 1913–14: W. C. Blasdale, Associate Professor of Chemistry; A. F. Lange, Professor of Education; Adolph Caspar Miller (Professor Miller goes to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Interior); T. B. Robertson, Associate Professor of Physiological Chemistry; R. F. Scholz, Assistant Professor of Ancient History.

First half-year of 1913–14: George E. Colby, Assistant Professor of Agricultural Chemistry; Stuart Daggett, Assistant Professor of Railway Economics (on the Flood Foundation); Martin C. Flaherty, Associate Professor of Forensics; W. M. Hart, Associate Professor of English Philology; H. J. Quayle, Assistant Professor of Entomology.

Second half-year of 1913–14: H. M. Hall, Assistant Professor of Economic Botany; John C. Merriam, Professor of Palaeontology and Historical Geology; R. Schevill, Professor of Spanish.

Engineering Degrees

Graduates of the engineering colleges of the University are now offered opportunity to obtain the degrees of Mining Engineer, Civil Engineer, Mechanical Engineer, Electrical Engineer, or Irrigation Engineer. The candidate must have been engaged for at least ten years after graduation in the practice of his profession. Evidence must be presented of successful and creditable professional work, and a thesis must be submitted.

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Agricultural Department Matters

The Dean of the College of Agriculture has been made a consultive member of the Committee on Agriculture of the Regents.

A new departure in agricultural instruction in the University, inaugurated this year, was the conducting of summer expeditions through the State for field studies. J. Eliot Coit, Professor of Citriculture, led such a party on a six-weeks journey to the principal orange and lemon-growing regions of California. Professor Charles F. Shaw conducted a party of students on a six-weeks tour for the examination of typical California soils and for study of the relation between soils and crops. This party did much field work at the University Farm at Davis and also at the Kearney Vineyard, near Fresno.

Departmental Libraries

By vote of the Regents on April 8, all books purchased for departmental libraries are to be catalogued as a part of the general library, and the Librarian is to make annual inspection of all departmental libraries, and an inventory of their contents and to report to the President concerning their condition.

Typhoid Vaccination

Opportunity is now offered by the Infirmary to all students to be vaccinated against typhoid fever. Several hundred persons have already availed themselves of the privilege. Successful vaccination against smallpox has, of course, for many years been required as a preliminary to admission to the University.

Eligibility for Loans and Scholarships

Undergraduates in the Colleges in Berkeley alone are hereafter to be eligible to loans from loan funds and appointments to scholarships, unless otherwise specified by the special terms of endowments or gifts.

New Scholarships

The California State Grange has empowered its Executive Committee to establish one or more State Grange Scholarships in the Agricultural Department of the University, of the annual value of $200, and open to any fourth-degree member of the Grange.

The Carrie M. Jones Scholarships, supported by an endowment of $100,000, bequeathed by Mrs. Carrie M. Jones, of Los Angeles, have been awarded for 1913–14, this being the first year for which they have been available. The Regents voted, on April 8, that

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applications shall be received only from male students in regular undergraduate status in the Colleges at Berkeley, that the annual stipend shall be $200, and that applications must be filed not later than April 1, of each academic year.

Language Instruction

Hereafter students who register in Freshman and Sophomore courses in French, German, Spanish, or Italian, will be required to attend such classes five days a week.

Alumni Association

The Alumni Association has elected the following officers for 1913–14: J. A. Elston, President; Sayre MacNeil, Vice-President; F. J. Solinsky, Second Vice-President; Duncan McDuffie, Treasurer; J. L. Simpson, Secretary.

Alumni reunions were held during Commencement week by the classes of '74, '86, '01, '03, and '12; a joint reunion by '88, '89, '90, and '91, and a joint reunion by '07, '08, '09, '10, and '11.

The University of California Club of San Francisco has elected the following officers: Conrad Loring, President; Grover O'Connor, Vice-President; Douglas Brookman, Treasurer; J. Warren McKibben, Secretary.

Some Student Officers

Mansell Penry Griffiths, '14, has been elected President of the Associated Students. Other officers of the student body for 1913–14 are: V. H. Doyle, '15, Secretary; B. R. Deleray, '14, Yell Leader. Miss Jessie Harris has been elected President of the Associated Women Students for 1913–14. Roswell G. Ham, '14, has been elected Editor of the Ocident.

D. O. Peters has been elected Editor of the 1915 Blue and Gold, and E. J. Fenstermacher, Manager.

Scientific Societies

The Pacific Association of Scientific Societies held its third annual meeting, at the University of California, on April 10, 11, and 12. The societies which met during these days were as follows: The Technical Society of the Pacific Coast, the San Francisco Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, the Cordilleran Section of the Geological Society of America, the Seismological Society of America, the Pacific Slope Association of Economic Entomologists, the Pacific Coast Palaeontological Society, the Philological Society of the Pacific Coast, the Biological Society of the Pacific Coast, the California Section of the American Chemical

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Society, the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, the Puget Sound Section of the American Chemical Society, and the San Francisco Section of the American Mathematical Society. Four societies which are members of the Association but which did not meet at this time are the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, the Cooper Ornithological Club, the California Academy of Sciences, and the Geographical Society of the Pacific.

LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY

April 1.—Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer, Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco, "Old Testament Bases of the New Testament."

April 1.—Professor Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, "The Loss and the Recovery of the Christ" (the last of the E. T. Earl Lectures).

April 2.—C. E. Grunsky, "The Hetch Hetchy Project" (before the Civil Engineering Association).

April 3.—Henry Morse Stephens, Sather Professor of History, "Spain at the Time of St. Theresa and Philip II" (before the Newman Club).

April 3.—Professor Shailer Mathews, "The Atonement in Doctrine and in Life."

April 4.—Professor Shailer Mathews, "Salvation, Social and Individual."

April 5.—E. C. Jones, "The Oil Gas Engine" (before the class in Gas Engineering).

April 6.—Eugen Neuhaus, "Pioneers of California Art."

April 7.—William Dallam Armes, Associate Professor of American Literature, "The England of Pope and Johnson."

April 7.—Professor William E. Ritter, Director of the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, "Kinds and Abundance of Animals Living in the Ocean off California."

April 8.—Robert Grant Aitken, Astronomer at the Lick Observatory, "The Sun as a Star."

April 8.—Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer, Rabbit of Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco, "Some Rabbinical Parallels to the New Testament."

April 10.—Astronomer Robert Grant Aitken, "The Sun in Eclipse."

April 11.—Ralph S. Minor, Associate Professor of Physics, "Pressure of Light."

April 12.—Joint meeting of the fifteen constituent societies of the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies. Speakers: President Benj. Ide Wheeler, Gilbert N. Lewis, Professor of Physical Chemistry; H. Rushton Fairclough, Professor of Latin in Leland Stanford

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Jr. University, and William L. Tower, Associate Professor of Embryology in the University of Chicago.

April 13.—T. T. Waterman, Instructor in Anthropology, "Ancient Cities of Mexico."

April 14.—Professor William E. Ritter, "The Mode of Life of Pelagic Animals."

April 14.—William Lind Argo, "Investigations at very Low Temperatures" (before the Chemical Colloquium).

April 14.—William Wallace Campbell, Director of the Lick Observatory, "Some Recent Studies of Our Stellar System" (the first of a proposed series of semi-annual lectures by different members of the faculty, presenting the results of scientific research at the University of California).

April 15.—Mlle. Rebecca Godchaux, "La Morale dans le Théatre de Maeterlinck" (before the Cercle Français).

April 15.—John Leslie Dobbins, '05, Professor of Railway Engineering in the Imperial Pei Yang University at Tientsin, China, "Railway Development in China" (before Tau Beta Pi).

April 15.—William Hammond Wright, Astronomer at the Lick Observatory, "The Solar Radiation."

April 15.—Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, "Some Rabbinical Parallels to the New Testament."

April 15.—Herbert E. Bolton, Professor of American History, "California Missions."

April 16.—Oswald Speir, "Architectural Terra Cotta" (before the Architectural Association).

April 17.—Astronomer William Hammond Wright, "The Solar Radiation."

April 18.—Professor Maynard M. Metcalfe of Oberlin College, "The Evolution of the Mechanism of Inheritance" (the annual public address before Beta Kappa Alpha).

April 20.—John Campbell Merriam, Professor of Palaeontology and Historical Geology, "Early Man in America."

April 21.—Professor William E. Ritter, "Something About the Movement and Temperature of the Ocean off the California Coast, and the Influence of these on the Climate."

April 22.—Heber Doust Curtis, Astronomer at the Lick Observatory, "Applications of Photography to Astronomy."

April 23.—Dr. G. F. Reinhardt, Professor of Hygiene, "The Future of Curative Medicine."

April 23.—Professor H. u. Hollister of Illinois, "Determining Principles of the Curricula of the Schools."

April 26.—Isidro Paredes, Judge of the Court of First Instance of the Philippines, an address before the Cosmopolitan Club.

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April 27.—Eugen Neuhaus, "The Outlook of Art in California."

April 29.—Astronomer H. D. Curtis, "Theories of Comets."

May 2.—William W. Guth, President of the College of the Pacific, "Christianity and Socialism" (before the Philosophical Union).

May 7.—Armin Otto Leuschner, Professor of Astronomy, annual address before Sigma Xi.

May 11.—Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes of San Francisco, the Baccalaureate Sermon in the Greek Theatre.

June 25.—Dr. M. P. Ravenel, Professor of Bacteriology and Director of the State Hygienic Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin.

UNIVERSITY MEETINGS

April 11.—Winston Churchill, the novelist.

April 25.—M. P. Griffiths, W. W. Beatty, Arthur Eaton, W. R. Greig, Miss Harriet Judd, Miss Barbara Nachtrieb, J. L. Simpson, R. G. Sproul, Miss Evelyn Steel, F. D. Stephens, J. A. Stroud, C. M. Torrey, and R. A. Silent.

June 23.—Professors Leon J. Richardson, C. Alphonso Smith, William R. Vance, Frederick L. Paxson, and Robert I. Fulton.

LEAGUE OF THE REPUBLIC LECTURES

April 1.—Mayor J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley, "The Modern Political Socialist."

April 8.—Professor Thomas Harrison Reed, "The Progressive Party."

April 22.—F. J. Cooper, "The Part Publicity Plays in the Modern Campaign."

LECTURES AT THE MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

(At the Museum, on Parnassus avenue, San Francisco, Sunday afternoons.)

April 6.—E. W. Gifford, "Brown Men and Women of the Pacific."

April 13.—David Prescott Barrows, Professor of Political Science, "Head Hunters of the Philippines."

April 20.—E. W. Gifford, Assistant Curator in the Anthropological Museum, "Cannibal Blacks of the Pacific."

April 27.—Professor A. L. Kroeber, "The Most Primitive Race: the Aborigines of Australia."

May 4.—E. W. Gifford, "Easter Island, the Mystery of the Pacific."

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June 22.—Professor A. L. Kroeber, "Dances and Songs of the Plains Indians."

June 29.—E. W. Gifford, "Art and Symbolism of the Plains Indians."

COURSES OF LECTURES

During the half-year ending in June, 1913, several courses were offered in the evening, in order that they might be available not only for regularly enrolled students but for the general public. Oliver Miles Washburn, Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeology, lectured three evenings a week on Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Epidaurus, Troy, Knossos, etc. W. B. Herms, Assistant Professor of Applied Parasitology, spoke every Wednesday evening at Agriculture Hall on "Rural Social Problems." Thomas H. Reed, Associate Professor of Government, lectured one evening each week for a group of Berkeley women interested in problems of civics. Henry Rand Hatfield, Professor of Accounting (on the Flood Foundation), conducted evening classes in modern accounting for men already experienced in such work and already engaged in it as an occupation.

During the Summer Session there were public lectures three evenings a week on Problems of Public Health, evening lectures by Professor Washburn on Greek Art, six evening lectures by Arthur W. Ryder, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, on "Ancient Hindu Thought," and an evening course in Parliamentary Law, conducted by Miss Alice L. Fleenor.

SUMMER SESSION OF 1913

The Summer Session of 1913 opened June 23. Among the visiting members of the faculty were:

Edward Elliott, Professor of Politics and Dean, Princeton University.

Professor Robert I. Fulton, Dean of the College of Oratory, Ohio Wesleyan University.

Barry Gilbert, Professor of Law, University of Iowa.

Miss Isabel Bevier, Professor and head of the Department of Household Science, University of Illinois.

Dr. Kate Brousseau, Professor of Philosophy, Mills College.

Clark W. Hetherington, Director of the Joseph Fels Endowment in Play and Educational Athletics, and for the past two years lecturer on the Theory of Education and Play in the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. I. B. Stoughton Holborn, Oxford-Cambridge Extension Lecturer on Art.

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George A. Miller, Professor of Mathematics, University of Illinois.

Griswold Morley, Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Colorado.

Frederick L. Paxson, Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Mazyck P. Ravenel, Director of the State Hygienic Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin.

Eugene P. Schoch, Professor of Chemistry, University of Texas.

Clarence Perkins, Professor of History, Ohio State University.

C. Alphonso Smith, Edgar Allen Poe Professor of English Literature, University of Virginia.

Frank B. Snyder, Professor of English Literature, Northwestern University.

Miss Katharine Strouse, Supervisor of Music, State Normal School, Emporia, Kansas.

Professor William R. Vance, Dean of the Law School, University of Minnesota.

Hutton Webster, Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Nebraska.

Mr. Glenn Woods, Supervisor of Music in the Schools at St. Louis and Director of the Arion Club of St. Louis.

Dr. Everett Charles Beach, Director of Physical Education for the Los Angeles Public Schools.

THE HALF-HOUR OF MUSIC

(In the Greek Theatre, Sunday afternoons)

April 6.—The Male Clef of the Berkeley Y. M. C. A., Lowell Moore Redfield, director and baritone soloist, Mrs. Mabel Hill Redfield, accompanist.

April 13.—The choir of the Oakland First Presbyterian Church: Percy A. R. Dow, director; Mrs. Zilpha R. Jenkins, soprano; Mrs. Ruth W. Anderson, contralto; J. F. Veaco, tenor; Charles F. Robinson, bass, and Mrs. W. J. Cook, accompanist.

April 20.—The University of California Cadet Band, Captain Leroy W. Allen, director.

April 27.—The University Madrigal Singers: Professor Charles Louis Seeger, director; and Robert D. McLure, baritone; Miss Stella Howell, accompanist.

May 4.—The La Monaca Band of Santa Barbara, Signor Cesare La Monaca, director.

June 29.—Miss Zdenka Buben, pianist; Miss Irene De Martini, dramatic soprano; Mrs. Henry J. Widenmann, contralto; presented

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OTHER MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC EVENTS

April 12.—The second annual Partheneia, "The Awakening of Everymaid," by Evelyn Agnes Steel, with music composed by Edward G. Stricklen, Assistant in Music.

April 19.—"Twelfth Night," presented by the English Club in the Greek Theatre.

April 26—"Le Monde ou l'on s'ennuie," (in French), presented by the Cercle Français at the Berkeley High School Auditorium.

April 28.—Julie Culp, the Dutch lieder singer, before the Berkeley Musical Association, in the Harmon Gymnasium.

May 2.—The California May Music Festival (Choragus Paul Steindorff, director), a Wagner-Verdi Centenary Concert, by full orchestra and the following soloists: Miss Blanche Hamilton Fox, Signora Regina Vicarino, and Roland Paul.

May 3.—California May Music Festival. Gabriel Pierné's "The Children's Crusade," presented by an adult chorus of 200, a children's chorus of 150, orchestra, and the following soloists: Regina Vicarino, Virginia Pierce, Mrs. Orrin Kip McMurray, Roland Paul, Lowell M. Redfield, Mrs. Gilbert Smith, Mrs. Thomas Addison, Mrs. George C. Jensen, Miss Eva Gruninger, and Charles E. Lloyd, Jr.

May 9.—Senior Extravaganza, "The Mischief Makers," by Victor Chauncy Gaines, '13, and Stanley Fisk Bryan, '13, in the Greek Theatre.

May 14.—Eugene Ysaye, the violinist, played the Viotti concerto and the Bruch concerto in G minor in the Greek Theatre, with accompaniment by full orchestra, directed by Choragus Paul Steindorff.

Professor Seeger arranged a series of University Recitals, on April 10, 17 and 24, and May 1, and also for the Summer Session. For that on June 28 the programme was given by Mrs. Seeger, violin; Professor Seeger, piano, and Michele Giovacchini, baritone.

HONOR SOCIETIES

The spring initiations into Phi Beta Kappa were as follows: Alumnus, Mrs. Frank Gilbreth; Seniors—Jessie Preble, Isabelle Hoyt, Alice Webster, Gertrude Comfort, Grace Wood, Vincenta Moorshead, D. I. Cone, D. E. Koshland, V. F. Collins, F. D. Stephens, Florence Ryle, Ella Martine, Evelyn Steel, Helen Johnson, Katherine Kelly, B. Y. Morrison, L. J. Rabinowitz, C. M. Torrey, F. G. Linde, R. F. Felchlin; Juniors—Clotilde Grunsky, D. H. McLaughlin, H. C. Breck, Valeria Mixer, R. G. Wadsworth.

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The following named persons were initiated into the Golden Bear Order in May: Kenneth Lester Blanchard, Henry Cushman Breck, Earl Raymond Crabbe, Aubrey Wheeler Drury, Ralph Monroe Eaton, Paul LeRoy Edwards, Howard Webster Fleming, Lloyd Wallace Georgeson, Mansel Penry Griffiths, Karl Snyder Hazeltine, Deming Gerow Maclise, Milton Marks, Harry Lascelles Masser, Frederick Cecil Mills, Francis Harrington Partridge, Austin Ramon Pohli, Joseph Hayford Quire, Charles Albert Rogers, John Lawrence Schoolcraft, Richard Caleb Shaw, George Dwight Wood, William Robert Greig, Merle Price, Professor Orrin Kip McMurray, Regent John A. Britton.

The following named persons have been initiated into the Prytanean Society: Elizabeth Anthony, '13; Ada Cline, '13; Gertrude Comfort, '13; Margery Glass, '13; Ruth Halloran, '13; Patricia Moorshead, '13; Dorothy Wilkinson, '13; Elizabeth Baker, '14; Helen Cornelius, '14; Elizabeth Eames, '14; Edith Frisbie, '14; Jessie Harris, '14; Agnes Madsen, '14; Elizabeth Morrison, '14; Harriet Pasmore, '14; Marie Phleger, '14; Fannie Whitman, '14.

INTERCOLLEGIATE CONTESTS

The track team met Stanford at Berkeley on Saturday, April 19. Stanford won with a score of 61⅛. The California score was 60⅝. The track team competed also, June 7, in the Eastern Conference Meet at the Harvard Stadium, tying for seventh place.

Stanford won the annual baseball series by two games straight.

The California tennis team defeated Stanford on Wednesday, April 23, by four matches to one.

Stanford won the annual intercollegiate chess contest by four matches to three.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

VOL. XV OCTOBER, 1913 No. 4

BERGSON AND ROMANTIC EVOLUTIONISM*

A. O. LOVEJOY

I. THE TWO EVOLUTIONISMS

The Philosophical Union and the philosophy of Bergson came into the world together. In the same year in which a small company of enthusiasts, under the incitement and inspiration of Professor Howison's teaching, first banded themselves together upon this Western coast for the serious and methodical discussion of the great themes of philosophy, there was published in Paris the first book of a young Jewish *lycée*—professor, a dissertation for the French doctorate entitled *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*. Both these small beginnings were destined to notable fortunes; but, so far as I can recall, the two coevals have not hitherto bestowed a great deal of attention upon one another. Certainly, I think, it is safe to say that none of those who took part in the early discussions of the Union had so prophetic a vision as to recognize in the little French book which had just appeared the promulgation of the doctrine which was to arrest the attention of mankind more generally than any other philosophical teaching that should be put forth during the Union's first quarter-century—probably more, also, than any which had appeared during the quarter-century preceding.

These twenty-five years have on many accounts been for the philosopher, and for the diligent reader of new philosophical writings, an extraordinarily interesting

* Two lectures delivered before the Philosophical Union of the University of California at the opening of its twenty-fifth year, September 5 and 12, 1913.

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period. Within that time more of the theoretical bases of more of the special sciences have been reconstructed than (as I think it would be possible to prove) during any previous period of like length in modern history, with the two possible, though debatable, exceptions of the age of Galileo and Descartes and the age of Newton and Leibniz. And since recent philosophy has, happily, increasingly endeavored to establish relations of reciprocal serviceableness with the natural sciences, these remarkable new developments in so many sciences at once—in mathematics, physics, physical chemistry, and several branches of biology—alone would have made it a rather stirring time for the philosopher. But there has been a corresponding activity in the field of philosophy itself. In part, perhaps, through the influence and example of these unusually rapid and revolutionary changes in the ruling hypotheses of science, speculation upon the strictly philosophical problems has, especially in our English-speaking countries and in France, been noticeably rejuvenated, in its prevailing tone and temper, if not so much as is sometimes supposed in its content. The doctrines, chiefly forms of neo-Kantian idealism of the monistic sort, which were clearly dominant in, for example, British and American university teaching during the earlier part of the period have by this time lost ground enormously. But the growing conviction of the untenability and the unprofitableness of these older doctrines has not left philosophers, as a rule, in a state of sceptical despondency. On the contrary, our generation seems to have been characterized by a peculiarly lively expectancy of revolutionary and fundamental discoveries concerning the nature of things and the nature of knowledge; and there has been no scarcity of proclamations of such new, or ostensibly new, and all-renewing insights. Many have cried, lo, here! and lo, there! and have led multitudes—at least as multitude is reckoned in the history of philosophy—after them. And they have led in highly divergent directions. One of these revolutions—a revo-

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lution which was to be the more thorough because it was to affect the entire method of philosophy, and not merely certain of its specific results—was formally proclaimed at the Union's Annual Meeting of fifteen years ago. It has since filled the mouths of men with a new and alluring word—to which new and clear ideas cannot be said to have invariably corresponded. A more recent movement of a quite different tendency—though it, too, has owed much to William James—has by this time made almost as much noise in the world, and its principal manifesto, hardly yet a year old, has been acclaimed by so acute a reasoner as our fellow-member, Professor McGilvary, as "a volume that may fairly be called epoch-making, so far as anything may be so called when it is of so recent appearance." Though I cannot myself share the enthusiasm of the partisans of either of the two movements I have mentioned, I am sure that into them, and into a number of others which I leave unmentioned, there has gone a great deal of hard and honest thinking. The representatives of the recent radically innovating tendencies have for the most part, as it seems to me, been at least peculiarly footloose in their reflection, determined not to put upon with sham axioms or to leave any blessed Mesopotamian concepts in the enjoyment of that odor of sanctity which comes from vacuity of meaning, resolute to free themselves from catchwords and edifying clap-trap, such as have played a great part in too much of the past century's idealistic philosophy. The spirit, more especially, of most of the newer Anglo-American philosophizing is, at the least, intellectually bracing; and the contentions of the schools which conceive their doctrine to be of revolutionary significance are at the least provocative of a desirable re-examination of presuppositions and indicative of points which previous analysis had not sufficiently fully and unequivocally cleared up. Nothing, therefore, could be more opportune, and not many things could be more profitable, than that the Union should, as the Executive Committee proposes, devote this twenty-

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fifth year to a general review of the quarter-century's new developments in philosophy and to an attempt to determine how much has been positively gained by them—to judge how many of these singularly diverse and aggressive movements and these involved controversies have actually captured for us a fuller or clearer understanding of the world we live in and our relation to it, and how many of them have been mere excursions and alarums.

Among these new philosophies, none, as I have already said, has so won the ear of all sorts and conditions of men, none has so influenced, or, rather, is just now so influencing, our age, as the one with which these first two meetings, and several later in the year's programme, are to be concerned. Professional philosophers have for the most part received it with serious consideration, as important both for its originality and its penetration, and some, like our own William James, have hailed it with scarcely qualified enthusiasm. Some of M. Bergson's disciples and expositors confidently rank him with the two or three greatest names in the entire history of European thought—and do so, one can't help marking, with an air of conscious and ostentatious moderation. All the world, at all events, is talking about this metaphysician; an amazingly large part of it is reading him, and apparently the greater part of this part is writing articles about him. He is, as Mr. Gulick of Doshisha College tells us, working potently upon the minds of the studious youth of Japan, just as he is upon great numbers of their counterparts throughout the universities of the occidental countries. Already we have poetry of palpably Bergsonian inspiration, Bergsonian fiction, and Bergsonian sermonizing; already, if I remember rightly, the clerical hero of one of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's romances has included a brief summary of this philosophy in his proposal of marriage. So solicitous are the most opposed schools of thought in M. Bergson's own country to have this powerful influence on their side—and so apt is his teaching, I must add, to furnish weapons to the most incon-

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gruous and irreconcilable causes—that his doctrines have been used to give a philosophical justification alike for revolutionary syndicalism and for the doctrine of papal infallibility. It is, in short, a condition as well as a theory which confronts us when we consider the philosophy of Bergson—a condition of the mind of our generation. His speculations have an importance which is not necessarily dependent on, or proportional to, their logical value. They would be of significance to the historian of ideas and of the states of mind which are no negligible factors in the causation of large historic processes, even if they had no significance for the thinker in quest of verified philosophic results.

Of this philosophy I shall in these lectures deal only with a single part. That, however, is the part which has, I suppose, most widely been regarded as original and revotionary. I mean, of course, Bergson's conception of evolution as "creative," as a process in which genuinely new reality is ever coming to the birth, in which the universe is not merely altered and rearranged, but positively augmented and enriched with fresh and unprecedented and unpredictable types of being and novel potencies of action, undeducible from any so-called "laws of nature" manifested in antecedent stages of cosmic history. In two hours' time it clearly will not be possible to review all the frequently elusive arguments which Bergson offers in behalf of his "creative" evolutionism, to analyze all of their confusions, and consequently to present a reasoned and measured estimate of the logical status of the hypothesis. That task you will, I hope, accomplish in the course of subsequent meetings. For the present I can undertake only certain needful preliminaries. I shall try to show the real relation of this theory to certain other Bergsonian contentions—a relation which is, as I think, quite misconceived by M. Bergson himself; to expound the theory, by first distinguishing sharply the conviction which is its essence, and then noting closely the transitions by which this is con-

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verted into more elaborate and detailed conclusions—transitions over which M. Bergson sometimes glides with a too facile grace; to bring out the significance of the theory, the sweep of its implications, by setting it in its contrast to two other great historic hypotheses, one in the philosophy of nature, the other in the philosophy of religion; then to indicate thereby some of the reasons for the strong appeal which this doctrine so evidently makes to our generation; and in the course of all this, to suggest some of the questions which ought to be asked, in judging of the doctrine's tenability.

We ought to remind ourselves at the outset that this theory is by no means the primary or the fundamental, or the most characteristic thing in the Bergsonian philosophy as Bergson himself conceives it. That philosophy as a whole (as has, I think, been sufficiently demonstrated in recent discussions) is an extremely unstable compound of elements which are not merely ill-assorted but reciprocally antipathetic. Yet, in the eyes of the author of this synthesis, all its parts are simply consequences of a single generating insight, namely, the insight gained by those fortunate souls to whom is vouchsafed what M. Bergson calls "the intuition of pure duration." That the "ultimate reality" which is the object of the age-long quest of metaphysics is to be reached by us only by turning inward, by penetrating to the deeper self, *le moi profond;* that this self, moreover, is to be known, not by the logical processes of the intellect, but by an "intuition" or direct perception in which the knower and the knowing and the known are ineffably one; that when the self is thus apprehended, it is discovered to be essentially of the nature of duration or temporal flux; but that this duration, being free from the categories of that inferior faculty, the intellect, is "without quantity or number," that is, is an absolutely indivisible unity, such that its moments are not "external to one another," but so completely fused and interpenetrative that they cannot be said to constitute a series: these four related

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theses constitute the heart of Bergson's mystery, as he himself has endeavored to lay it bare. Since many of the philosopher's expositors have seemingly failed to apprehend how fundamental and all-important his doctrine of time and its indivisibility appears to him to be, I think it right to quote from an unpublished philosophical letter of his a few lines which bear upon the point. "I daily discover," he wrote in 1911, "how difficult it is to bring people's minds to the perception of real duration and to make them see it as it is—that is to say, as indivisible though moving (or rather indivisible *because* moving). I have scarcely done anything else in all that I have written, except call attention to this; yet I am not sure that I have succeeded, for I observe that people study me and criticize me on many other points rather than on this one, which is the only essential one, and to which all the other points should be attached, if one does not wish to run the risk of completely misunderstanding them. To any one who has gained a clear consciousness of this concrete duration, and who above all has learned to place himself again in it and habitually live in it, philosophy and reality itself take on a wholly new aspect. Many problems disappear, and reality acquires so much intensity as to become luminous of itself, without having so great need of the light which philosophers profess to bring to it."

If, then, we were to begin our discussion of the new philosophy with the part of it which purports to be the most significant, and to be explanatory of all the rest, we should be obliged to devote our attention first—and it would need to be a rather prolonged attention—to the Bergsonian theory about the nature of time. It is not, solely, out of consideration for the feelings of an audience not exclusively composed of specialists in philosophy that I devote these two lectures to another and somewhat less difficult theme. Authors are by no means always good judges of the relative importance of the several ideas which they originate or revive. And in the present case, any thorough

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examination of M. Bergson's utterances about "the intuition of real duration," while it would throw a great deal of light upon the interesting workings of that philosopher's mind, would yield, I think, chiefly negative results for philosophy. The conception of "creative evolution" contains, to my thinking, rather more profitable matter for our consideration. It is this conception, certainly, which has appealed most to those readers of Bergson who approach his speculations from the side of natural science; it constitutes his real significance in the eyes of many who have little sympathy with the Romantic anti-intellectualism which is an integral part of that ostensibly fundamental doctrine of his which I have mentioned. This hypothesis, at least, is not wholly out of range of the problems, the methods and the attained results of scientific inquiry. On the other hand, in its ultimate implications, it is the part of Bergson's teaching which has the most direct and momentous bearing upon the philosophy of religion, in the widest sense of that term. In concerning ourselves, then, with the theory of "creative" or radical evolutionism, we shall be dealing with the phase of our philosopher's work which, with respect to its premises, is most nearly related to the work of the scientific investigator, and with respect to its consequences, is most nearly related to the large issues of religious belief. And, I may add, even if this were not the case, your lecturer at least would have a properly Bergsonian motive for refraining from an attempt to expound and discuss the "intuition of real duration." That intuition, since it is alien to the intellect's categories and cannot be couched in concepts, is, as M. Bergson himself has put it, "repugnant to the very essence of language." Our present theme will permit us to avoid the paradox—though it is a paradox which has been matched many times in the history of the philosophies of the ineffable—of talking at length about that which is by definition incapable of being talked about at all. It is true that the doctrine of creative evolution, no less than all the other special doctrines of

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Bergson, is supposed by him to rest ultimately upon his discovery of the peculiarities of that duration in which the being of "the deeper self" consists. And there is, in fact, a Bergsonian view about time which, as we shall soon see, is fundamental to the "creative evolution" theory. But it is not the view expressed by the utterances about time which I have thus far quoted; not shall we find it, I think, a view wholly repugnant to the essence of language. The thesis of the "indivisibility" of duration, so far from leading to the doctrine of the "creativeness" of the evolutionary process, is plainly contradictory of that doctrine. The only sort of time in which a real evolution could take place must manifestly be one in which later moments are truly "external" in their existence to the earlier, and bring new content to add to that of the earlier; in which all the moments as they come constitute a cumulative, and therefore necessarily quantitative, sum of experience. The truth is that, though Bergson constantly uses the substantives "time" and "duration," the attributes which he most frequently ascribes to these are precisely the attributes by means of which metaphysicians have been wont to define eternity.

Though Bergson's doctrine of duration is thus singularly confused; though it is unhappily entangled with an anti-intellectualist intuitionism; though much of it is quite without relevancy to the rest of his teaching; and though, in the form which he most frequently gives it, it amounts logically to a denial of the reality of what is ordinarily meant by time and by evolution;—the essential fact, after all, about this philosopher is that he *means* seriously and emphatically to affirm not merely the reality of temporal becoming, but also the prime and decisive significance of it, in relation to all the problems of metaphysics and of the theory of knowledge. M. Bergson, in short, intends, at least, to adhere to what it is now beginning to be the fashion to call temporalism. The word, as he has himself remarked, is one which we ought to adopt into the philo-

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sophical vocabulary; and its aptness to the description of his own doctrine he has recognized. Now, an explicit and conscious temporalism is a rather new thing in philosophy; but it is also a conspicuously growing thing.

Strange as the fact may appear to those little acquainted with the history of metaphysics and with the subtly plausible reasons which lead reflection to such an outcome, time is a feature of the world of our experience which has usually been treated with a sort of contempt by philosophy (when it has not been left unconsidered altogether) ever since Plato's day. The speculative mind has been, by most of the great metaphysicians of the past, bidden to interest itself in the eternal and immutable; just as the heart of man has been bidden, by most of the great Christian religious systems—in this far more Platonistic than Christian—to withdraw itself from the chances and changes of this mortal life and to fix itself upon the unchanging, to aspire to a state "when time shall be no more." In a hundred ways, older philosophies have shown that they were unable to make much sense, or find much of philosophic significance in the queer fact that our world *is* a temporal one, that its content comes to us piecemeal, that a bit of experience scarcely *is* before it lapses into nonentity again, that all that we immediately *get* of existence happens in that infinitesimal bridge between an unrealized future and a derealized past, which we call the present moment. Try to think the notion of time through to its ultimate implications, and it seemed to involve you in self-contradictions. You could not satisfactorily think of it as having a beginning or yet as not having a beginning. When you considered closely that bridge of the present, into which all genuine being in time seemed to resolve itself, you seemed to see the bridge break down, to reduce to nothingness before your eyes. For what, after all, could the present moment be, but the mere abstract dividing-line, the geometrical point without magnitude, between past and future? A present which should last, which itself should fill a certain dura-

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tion, must necessarily contain some past and future. But it is an absurdity to compose the present out of the past and future. If, however, you take the other alternative and reduce your present to that mere instant *without* duration, your bridge becomes a nothing connecting two other nothings. The present *is* not, for it must, if it is strictly a present, be gone as soon as it comes; and the past *is* no more, and the future *is* not yet. Thus in the time-process genuine being seems to elude reflective analysis; and because of this many philosophers, of many schools, have, in one form or another, adopted the easy device of calling time an unreality—an appearance, or an illusion, or a "contingent aspect" of a more genuine supratemporal reality lying behind. Thus they have given themselves an excuse for not dealing seriously with the empirical fact of time.

Such has been the common fate of the temporal at the hands of metaphysics. Science has never, as such, gone to this length; time has been too insistent a feature of the world of experience to be eluded by the disciplines which concern themselves simply with the generalized description of that world. Yet even science through most of its history has been little interested in time as such, and it has usually got away from the mere temporality of things as fast and as far as possible. It has been interested in "unchanging laws of nature"—laws which, for the most part, to be sure, *relate* to temporal sequences but are themselves conceived as things into which the tooth of time cannot bite. And the *things* of nature, whose action conformed to these laws, science has usually sought to reduce to simple entities that never change their individual qualities, but only their positions and quantitative relations. When you reached the ultimate atom, you usually were supposed to reach something stable, something to which, as it exists in itself, *history* makes no difference—which, so to say, has no inner history of its own, but only a history of its outer relations to other atoms equally unchangeable in themselves. We

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have, indeed, in modern times gradually been developing natural sciences which may be called historical in nature; such are a great part of geology, evolutionary zoology and botany, and cosmogonic astronomy; of late some parts even of chemistry and physics have been taking on a historical character; the chemical atom has been found to have an evolution, and the second law of thermodynamics is sometimes taken as an epitome of the entire history of nature, a sort of "Rake's Progress" of an energy-squandering universe. But for the most part these historical parts of physical science have been looked upon as relatively superficial parts; it was in the immutable laws describing certain recurrent uniformities in the motion of the permanent units of matter that the fundamental part of science was believed to consist. And though with the word "motion" the idea of time unavoidably stepped in, even by "time" science has not usually meant a genuine reality but only a sort of abstract logical relation of before-and-after, which could be quite adequately represented upon, say, a (relatively) unmoving surface such as a blackboard, by a fixed spatial diagram.

When I say, then, that Bergson at least *intends* genuinely to be a temporalist, I mean that he rebels against all this deregard or belittling of the time-aspect of our world. For him time is nominally the *ultimate* fact, the root-character of reality. It is in their time-relations that all things are to be understood; to consider them otherwise than under the form of duration is to consider them falsely. And there is one thesis of his about time—one which, to be sure, he repeatedly forgets and contradicts—which makes him an especially radical temporalist. He affirms not merely time's reality in the fullest sense, but also its dynamic efficacy; he is convinced that, in Professor James's words "it makes a difference." His grievance against the doctrines which he attacks most vigorously—for example, against mechanistic materialism—is that the idea of time is really lacking in them altogether. "True, they pronounce

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the word; but they do not think of the thing. For in such doctrines time is treated as destitute of efficacy." Evidently, to think of it thus is in Bergson's judgment, in reality to fail to think of *time* altogether. The programme which he sets before himself, and before contemporary philosophy in general, is that of revising our categories and reconstructing our conclusions by substituting the *se faisant* for the *tout fait*, the idea of a reality which is actually and literally making itself moment by moment as it goes along, in place of the idea of a reality which—even if it be supposed to be temporally and successively experienced—is yet regarded as already *made*.

This, as it seems to me, is really Bergson's most significant personal *aperçu* about time; and, if we are to pick out one among his numerous and jarring formulas as expressing his truly fundamental insight, this, I think, should be the one. The queer things which he elsewhere says of duration, and presents as the sum and substance of his philosophy, may be looked upon as not wholly inexplicable misapprehensions of what this insight implies; even those which clearly contradict it may be regarded as incidents of a not very successful struggle with the logical difficulties which are unquestionably latent in the conception. I may add that the same insight seems to me to have been one of the two ruling ideas of the reflection—especially the later reflection—of William James. A great part of his pragmatism, and of his other formulated doctrines, was but the manifestation, upon the occasion of the discussion of specific problems, of this more general and more fundamental conviction, which, just because it was deeper-lying, was often rather assumed than expressed.

In Bergson's case, this thesis of the efficacy of time was first applied by him to consciousness, and made to furnish an argument for human freedom. Consciousness—and consciousness alone,—as he did not hesitate to declare—is the sort of existence which has time for its essential form; to speak of "being conscious" and of "experiencing dura-

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tion" are but different ways of referring to the same fact. And what a conscious being does or effectuates, it determines in part by the very process of doing it. This present active moment, which has never been before and will never be again, is not the mere occasion of the unfolding of a scroll already written; it has its own unique quality, its own contribution to make to the shaping of reality. At every moment there is, in the apt phrase of our American speech, "something doing," not simply the disclosure of something done. And because the moment's consciousness is thus unique and creative, its content or its mode of action can not be known beforehand; for they are not settled until that moment *is*. Thus it is that we are free, that is to say, have the capacity to do or produce novel things which were not in any sense *contained* in our antecedent states, and could not have been foreseen even by one who had analyzed those states beforehand down to the last bit of *then* present content which belonged to them. This freedom does not, however, conflict with the ordinary law of casual uniformity. For that law asserts merely that upon the same antecedent the same effect always follows. But since in the case of consciousness the repetition of identical situations, which the principle of causality presupposes, does not occur, it is not necessary or even possible, that there should be any complete sameness in the effects.

It will be to our purpose to examine a little more closely the transitions by which we are thus supposed to pass from the reality of time to its efficacy and thereby to the creative freedom of consciousness. Much in the Bergsonian dialectic turns upon the identification of temporal flow—the addition of moment to moment—with innovation; real time, our philosopher tells us, coining a somewhat violent new compound, is *le temps—invention;* and it is upon this newness that the affirmation of freedom is based. Now, of course, there is *something* new about each moment of time, namely, itself *quâ* moment—or, as I should prefer to put it, *quâ* mere existence. If we really hold that time goes on, we

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must say of each instant as it comes that *it*, at least, is a fresh birth. By its coming something—and something irreducible to anything else, for which nothing else can be a substitute or equivalent—has been added to the sum of reality; an item has been transferred from the side of bare potentiality to the side of fact. Every portion of time, then, long or short, is undeniably a unique and original bit of *being;* and time in general is undeniably creative of something, namely, of more time. But unhappily the newness of a moment *quâ* existence by no means entails the qualitative novelty of its concrete content—for example, the sensations and feelings which are said to be *present* in it; and it is about nessness of content that we are most concerned. None who have ever been bored will be ready to admit that fresh moments always bring fresh experience in any humanly significant sense. It is, no doubt, a strict metaphysical truth that "every day is a fresh beginning"; but it is obviously *not* true that every fresh beginning is in itself a beginning of fresh things.

Though M. Bergson nowhere, I believe, expressly indicates that he has clearly recognized this fairly easy distinction, it seems to be because of the difficulty which it involves that he adds to his account of the nature of our temporal experience an assertion which, recurrent in all of his writings, is elaborated at length in *Matter and Memory*. This is the thesis that consciousness is essentially memory, and memory from which nothing is ever lost. This statement, of course, is meant to be taken rather in a Pickwickian than a pragmatic sense. M. Bergson does not intend to give us a flattering but unconvincing assurance of the infallibility of the memories which we actually use; he means that somehow in "the deeper self" the entire content of past experience is perfectly conserved and carried along and that it therefore forms a part of, and fuses with, and partially shapes each new moment's experience. As evidence of this, M. Bergson seems to attach much consequence to the tales of drowning people who have in an

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instant lived over all their past lives. Now you will have observed how this doctrine of the completeness of our subliminal, or our extra-phenomenal, memory comes to the aid of the doctrine of the novelty-creating efficacy of time. The latter, we saw, can not be directly inferred merely from the existential novelty of each successive moment; for the content of that moment may after all be composed of elements which have existed before. It may even be composed of old ingredients related in exactly the same manner as on some or many previous occasions. This, as we have already noted, is substantially what is supposed to be true in the material universe, according to the prevailing physical hypotheses. These conceive of the physical world as entirely composed of old materials. These—the ultimate atoms or corpuscles—and the energy, which are supposed to make up nature, though they perform a seemingly diversified dance, and in the course of it form transitory individual complexes which, as individuals, seem to enlarge their powers through increasing experiences—yet themselves have gained no new accomplishments through all the incalculable length of time during which they have figured on the cosmic scene. What they were, they are; what they once did, they do again when the like situation arises. And specific situations which, for all essential purposes, are like old and often-repeated ones are, as physical science assumes, constantly arising. The possibility of scientific prediction is based entirely upon this repetitiousness of nature. It is true that the total situation of the physical world is not precisely duplicated at very frequent intervals, if at all. But the more fragmentary combinations of things, with which we deal in scientific experiments or in the ordinary business of life, are, as physical science assumes, not significantly affected in their modes of operation by the fact that the arrangement of all the atoms and energy in the whole world does not make just the same pattern today as yesterday. And in at least one celebrated nineteenth century philosophy which professed to be based upon the general prin-

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ciples of modern physics, the repetitiousness of the universe as a whole was asserted. Herbert Spencer could see no way of logically rounding out his attempt to harmonize the idea of evolution with the principles of the conservation of energy and the indestructibility of matter, without recourse to something like the doctrine of world-cycles.

But if there is at least one kind of being—for example, consciousness—which enters upon each present situation bringing all of its past with it, and, indeed, within it, as part of its own fabric—then in the case of such a being the merely existential novelty of the new moment can be treated as equivalent to novelty of content. For even if the particular increment of concrete experience which the incoming moment brings were identical in kind with that brought by some earlier moment, the total complex would still be unprecedented. The fresh bit of experience would not merely repeat the old; it would be added to the old, and produce a presently existing sum of content which could never before have been seen in its entirety. Thus, in Bergson's own words, "from the survival of the past"—and not, be it observed, merely from the newness of the present—"it follows that consciousness cannot go through the same state twice. The circumstances may still be the same, but they will act no longer on the same person." Thus to the Bergsonian doctrine of the freedom and creative efficacy of the successive phases of consciousness, this theory of the indestructibility of past content of experience is an indispensable premise. You will note, also, what M. Bergson and some of his disciples seem often to forget, that the factor of novelty, of free creation, in any one moment may, by this theory, be relatively small. The character of that moment is made up chiefly of vestiges of the past; and if the potency of the two classes of components—the old and the new—is assumed to be proportional to their relative quantity, the old must have by far the greater part in the determination of the action of the conscious being. It is true that the assumption of this proportionality is not a necessary one.

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Biologists will recognize in this theory certain affinities with the hypothesis of organic memory which has been developed by Hering, Samuel Butler, Semon, Rignano and Francis Darwin. It is perhaps worth while to pause to point out both the nature and the limits of these affinities. When the theorists mentioned declare "memory" to be a distinguishing property of all living matter, they do not use the term in the quasi-psychological sense in which it is employed by Bergson. They mean only that any portion of living substance is continuously and lastingly modified in its constitution and its powers of action by the impressions it receives and especially by the acts it performs. Whether a single cell, or a highly organized complex of cells, it has stamped upon it by each of its experiences—to use the word without necessarily connoting consciousness—what Semon calls an *engram;* this it permanently retains, and by this all the organism's subsequent reactions are in part determined. But though Semon's *Mneme* is not identical with Bergson's "memory," it has an essential element in common with the latter; for the beings to which it is attributed are supposed to preserve and to accumulate the specific effects, if not the actual content, of each of their past phrases. For them, too, the progress of time makes a difference; they are inwardly transformed by their own history, and at a later stage of their existence have not the same character, and do not act in accordance with precisely the same laws, as at an earlier stage. It is only when Bergson's doctrine of memory is reduced to some such terms as these that it seems to me to call for serious discussion. But the biologists who have adopted the *mneme*-theory have for the most part drawn from it consequences quite different from those which we have seen Bergson drawing. They usually employ the theory to explain simply the *persistence* of certain characters and modes of reaction, together with the progressive improvement in the organism's performance of those reactions and in its descendants' adjustment to recurrent situations. In other words, it has been chiefly in

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connection with such phenomena as instinct, habit-formation and learning in the lower organisms, and above all as a postulate which would make the inheritance of acquired characters conceivable, that the notion of organic memory has been used by its partisans. But Bergson, I think, is right in suggesting that the same general type of hypothesis has other and larger consequences also. If accepted, it would not only enable us to understand in some measure how it is that living things are able to react to a situation better and more promptly on its second occurrence than its first, and how they are able to react effectively to situations which not they, but only their ancestors, have previously encountered; the same assumption would *permit* us to conceive how—without any negation of the law of uniform causality—they might be capable, as time advances, of doing *new* kinds of things, as well as old kinds of things more efficiently. For,—to repeat, for the sake of clearness, what the hypothesis supposes,—these being in their later stages have not the same constitution as in their earlier stages; they have come to constitute different complexes. But we have no reason to expect beforehand that a being of one constitution will be capable only of the types of reaction to which a being of another and simpler constitution is limited; or that a complex which has, as a whole, never before existed, will not exhibit something unprecedented and unpredictable in its behavior. Clearly, in precisely the degree to which we suppose any entity to be transformed by its history to that degree we imply that we can learn from a study of that particular entity's past just what it can do and will do in the present or future. Of course, if we suppose its history as a whole to be in outline a repetition of some other entity's history—which is what we usually do suppose of organisms—we may expect to learn from that *other* history which has already run its course, what the future chapters of the life of the creature before us will be. But we never assume that this recapitulation will be perfect. And it remains antecedently conceivable that organized mat-

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ter, or even matter in general, as it slowly accumulates changes in its constitution, through the effects of the situations it has gone through, may thereby be acquiring new accomplishments, laying the foundations for eventual novel modes of action. Bergson may thus be said to suggest to us, though he does not himself at all clearly formulate, an important possibility: namely, that not merely to transitory physical complexes, but to living matter as a whole, or perhaps to the ultimate and indestructible elements of all matter, the advance of time makes a difference; that organic substance, or all substance, is essentially and cumulatively modified by its history, and is for just that reason capable of innovation, of the creation of absolute and unforeseeable novelties. I do not say that this possibility has been shown to correspond with the fact. But I do say that we have no decisive grounds for rejecting it a priori; that it has even some antecedent probabilities in its favor; and that our present empirical knowledge of nature cannot be said to disprove it.

If Bergson had worked out this hypothesis in the manner which I have been suggesting, he might, as you see, have deduced directly from it a theory of creative evolution, in a very general sense of that expression; for the hypothesis implies that the time-process with the aid of memory—even unconscious, organic memory—may enrich the world's store with additional realities and fresh powers. But his procedure is not in fact so direct. The part of his doctrine which we have been considering, however, must not be supposed to be without pertinency to his creative evolutionism. The general result of it, at least, is an essentially preliminary thereto. For the first and decisive step in the argument for the theory with which we are chiefly concerned tonight consists in a transference to organisms in general of those potencies which, as we have seen, Bergson himself in his earlier writings ascribed only to human consciousness—the power of free, that is, of genuinely indeterminable action, of spontaneous creation. When this step is taken, we of course get

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a biological philosophy which is radically opposed to what Bergson means by "mechanism." The essence of mechanism, as Bergson puts it, is "to regard the future and the present as calculable functions of the past, and thus to assume that "*all is given* once for all." He might have better said that this is the essence of determinism, of which mechanism is a species, consisting in the assertion that all physical processes, including those of organisms, consist in redistributions of a fixed sum of matter and energy in accordance with fixed laws of relative motion. I make the distinction, because one may conceivably hold to the *genus* determinism in biology without holding to the mechanistic form of it. Bergson's attack, however, is not upon a mechanistic biology merely; it amounts to a radical biological determinism. It is not that vital processes can not be reduced to the laws of the special science of mechanics, or even to those of physics and chemistry; it is, as he plainly tells us, that they can never be reduced completely to any general laws whatever. Life, like consciousness, is, in all that is most distinctive of it, unpredictable and free. It is not merely produced by pre-existing forces, but produces itself as it goes along; and in its productions there is always something of innovation, of "invention."

This indeterminism which Bergson has carried over from his psychology into biology is next combined with transformism, with the doctrine of organic evolution; and each element in the compound is interpreted in the light of the other. The freedom of the living being is now, accordingly, regarded as manifesting itself primarily in the variations, or rather mutations, by which new species are originated. These are not to be understood as consequences of mechanical displacements or rearrangements in the cells of the germ-plasm—rearrangements of which we might hope eventually to discover the complete formula. They are expressions of the free creative potency of life as such. "Heredity," in Bergson's words, "does not simply transmit characters; it transmits also the impetus in virtue of which

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the characters are modified, and this impetus is vitality itself." These creations of new forms, or of the rudiments of new forms, do not, however,—as Bergson thinks—take place altogether at random. He incorporates into his theory the hypothesis of orthogenesis, according to which organisms vary persistently in determinate directions, so that new traits which have once appeared tend of themselves to increase and to become intensified.

With this there begin to emerge into view the lineaments of the celebrated Bergsonian "life-force" or *élan vital*. M. Bergson's philosophy is essentially a series of quick transformation scenes: and what we have before us now is no longer what we had a moment ago, merely a certain attribute of indeterminateness in the action of organisms,—but a pretty definitely hypostatized, not to say personified, entity with well-marked tastes and tendencies of its own. The *élan vital* is a force, an urge, an impulsion, anterior to and independent of the bodies of which it takes possession, and which, when thus possessed, we call organic. It makes not only for novelty, for increasing variation in definite directions, for expansion, but also for individuation. It drives on insatiably and unwearyingly towards more life and fuller and more diversified. It more and more, as Bergson's characterization progresses, comes to resemble the Schopenhauerian *Wille zum Leben*, on the more positive side of that versatile entity. For the *élan vital* too is defined as of the nature of volition. The theory of the method of evolution which best accords with the character of this force is the Lamarckian—when the self-developing effort of the organism is taken, as it is by some neo-Lamarckians, as "implying consciousness and will." But "the term effort," adds Bergson, "must be taken in a sense even more psychological than any neo-Lamarckian supposes." A sort of purposiveness, too, has this vital impulsion, though a purposiveness without prevision or conscious design. Life is like a blind giant; it runs up many blind alleys, diverges a thousand times from its straight course, yet upon the whole

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forges ahead in one prevailing direction. When thwarted in its endeavor towards its characteristic though unforeseen ends—as it is constantly thwarted by its eternal antagonist, inert matter—it is endlessly fertile in devices for overcoming opposition or circumventing obstructions. It is, moreover, not a power existing separately in individual living things and operating in them disconnectedly; rather is it a cosmic force in and by which all individual organisms live and move and have their being, and to whose vaster strivings all their groaning and travailing are but incidents. And thus—to quote once more the now celebrated passage which concludes the third chapter of *Creative Evolution*—"with this doctrine we feel ourselves no longer isolated in humanity, humanity no longer isolated in the nature that it dominates. As the smallest grain of dust is bound up with our entire solar system, drawn along with it in that undivided movement of descent which is materiality itself, so all organized beings, from the humblest to the highest, from the first beginnings of life to the time in which we are, and in all places as in all times, do but evidence a single impulsion, the inverse of the movement of matter, and itself indivisible. All the living hold together, all yield to the same tremendous urge. The animal takes its stand upon the plant, man bestrides animality, and the whole of humanity, in space and in time, is one immense army galloping beside and before and behind each one of us in an overwhelming charge which is able to beat down all resistance and to overcome the most formidable obstacles—perhaps even death."

This is a cheerful and stirring piece of philosophical eloquence. But even this passage reminds us of an aspect of the Bergsonian doctrine of creative evolution which has seemed to some to be of a disquieting significance. Even here we have observed, over against triumphant Life, its ancient enemy, Matter and Mechanism. And this enemy, as we are elsewhere given to understand, is Life's own child. There are, it is true, two accounts of the nature of extended matter in Bergson's philosophy, which seem scarcely recon-

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cilable. According to one of them, matter is a sort of useful fiction which our consciousness sets up in order that it may thereby be the better enabled to act—though why it should need a fiction, and particularly just this fiction, to that end, M. Bergson has never explained. At all events, if matter is thus purely instrumental to life and action, it ought not, one would suppose, to be seriously obstructive to life and action. When the fiction has ceased to serve its turn, it ought to be possible to withdraw it. But the other account of matter assigns to it no such airy and innocuous rôle. By this account matter is produced out of life (or consciousness, for M. Bergson, as we have seen, finds consciousness of some sort and life to be co-extensive), is produced out of life through an arrest or reversal of the vital process. Thus, on the one hand, organic existence—exactly contrary to the usual mechanistic assumption—is regarded by Bergson as antecedent to the inorganic, and explanatory of it. But on the other hand, this expansive organic impulsion tends mysteriously—not through any outer constraint, but by its own nature—to its own self to be untrue. The *élan vital*, if I may put it so, has "a yellow streak." And the matter to which it thus gives rise is something more than the mere negation of life; it is a positive and persistent hindrance to life's activities. M. Bergson does not hesitate to say even of the physiological mechanism, that "the material of this machine does not represent a sum of means employed, but a sum of obstacles avoided," by the organism in the expression of its specifically vital tendencies. Thus the primacy ascribed to the *élan vital* in Bergson's philosophy of nature is of itself no guarantee of the predominance of evolution over retrogression, of the creative principle over the force of inertia, in the Bergsonian universe. It is this aspect of the doctrine chiefly which has led a recent writer[1] in *Mind* to insist that Bergson is essentially a teacher of pessimism. His philosophy, as this critic observes, sets up "two reals,

[1] Mr. J. W. Scott, in *Mind*, July, 1913.

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with no relation to each other." And "the ultimate real—the world which both reals are in—cannot accomodate its members. Reality is movement. But it is also stopping. And movement has nothing to do with stopping. The real has dispersed itself into two channels and lost its way. That is the pessimism." In strictness of philosophical language, pessimism it cannot be called. But it is obviously a dualism of good and evil principles; and a dualism of a somewhat sinister aspect because the evil principle emanates from the good—because the life-force itself tends to fatigue and break-down, has in it a strain of cosmic neurasthenia.

It is not upon this aspect of his doctrine, however, that M. Bergson likes to dwell. Apparently by a wholesome act of faith, he assumes that "life is essentially evolution," and only accidentally, and in decreasing measure, arrest or reversion. In point of fact, his derivation of inert matter from life is, judged by the logic of his own system an aberration. To make his creative evolutionism consistent with itself as an hypothesis—I am not now saying anything about the question of its truth—he need apparently only have supposed that all matter manifests, or is animated by, the same impulsion towards higher potencies and towards more complex organization; that this impulsion has been from the outset confronted by definite and constant limiting conditions; that it first possessed very meagre powers of expressing itself against, and yet through, these conditions; but that just because they are constant and unaffected by time, while it is continuously self-augmenting, is steadily adding to its resources, it must on the whole increasingly dominate. This too is a form of dualism; but it is a significantly different dualism from that into which Bergson sometimes lapses. And this we should, I think, take as the proper form of his hypothesis. Now, the broad significance of this doctrine of Bergson's, in its relation to the general movement of modern thought, is that it offers a view about the evolutionary process which is in sharp and definite contrast to the mechanistic sort of evolution-

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ism; and that it thereby revives, in a partially new form, a way of thinking that really antedates that alliance of evolutionism and mechanism which was formed about the middle of the nineteenth century. Of this alliance Spencer's philosophy is the most familiar example, though it is not at quite all points true to type. It owed its extensive popular vogue, no doubt, to the evolutionary aspect of it; but in its evolution, the augmentation of "heterogeneity, the "increase of life," was but an evanescent shimmer upon the surface of a reality whose true essence was immutability. A world in which the quantity of matter and energy was constant; in which the laws of psychology were reducible to the laws of biology, these to the laws of chemistry, these to those of physics, and all at the last to a few simple laws of the motion of matter which express simply the tendency of unequally distributed energy to an equilibrium: here, precisely, was a world in which, as Bergson is fond of expressing it, "everything was given" *ab initio*. Though the manifestation of what was implicit there took time, and though in the course of the readjustment of energy more complex individuated arrangements of matter appeared than had at first actually existed, all could have been foreseen by a sufficiently comprehensive intelligence beforehand; and the time in which the cosmic film was run off might have been accelerated—almost to infinity—without making any difference to the so-called evolution, so long, only, as the same relations of antecedence and subsequence were maintained between the successive pictures. For in such a philosophy time is taken account of only in the sense of a serial order of priority and posteriority; it has no duration of its own. In this mechanistic world, of course, there could be said to be happenings; but there could be no activity. Not only, again, was there no design in the process as a whole, but even human planning and contriving had no such significance as man in his moments of deliberation and device can not help ascribing to them. Nothing *got* settled by man's contrivances or their en-

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deavors for everything had always been settled. Consciousness as such was necessarily without efficacy; for the causation of every want could be completely accounted for without taking into consideration any of the peculiarities by which our ideas of consciousness differs from our idea of matter and energy. With this mechanistic cosmology, the Darwinian, or rather neo-Darwinian, biology—I mean, of course, the theory of natural selection in its extreme form—was in keeping. Darwinism was not a mechanistic theory in the sense that it established any connection between the laws of mechanics and the phenomena of organic evolution; but its conception of the method of species-forming and of progressive adaptation was none the less quasi-mechanical. Given a random slight variability of organisms; given, also, a struggle between them for existence; and, as Darwinism implied, they are forced and squeezed by the natural conditions of that struggle into new forms and more complex adaptations. This not only implied no positive developmental tendency in the nature of organisms; it also implied that Nature as a whole, which did somehow bring about development, did so only by a process of monstrous waste and universal conflict. The theory of natural selection pictures the teeming Universal Mother as reckless in the production of aspirants for life, but strangely parsimonious in her provision of the means of maintaining life—leaving to every one of the hungry children at her board only the privilege of snatching the food of his neighbors, only the grim alternative of destroying or being destroyed. It declares these three unlovely aspects of the world—its wastefulness, its disharmony, and its cruelty—to be not simply casual details of the picture, but the very essence of that whole evolutional process which, regarded in its results and not in its methods, had seemed so admirable and so edifying to contemplate. These aspects of Nature had been pointed out by Tennyson in a famous passage of *In Memoriam* written fifteen years before the appearance of the *Origin of Species;* but made, as they were by Darwin, the central

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and explanatory facts in the entire scheme of organic existence, they became yet more monstrous to the imagination by coming to seem more universal and more systematic. And thus reflection upon these aspects of a mechanistic cosmology and a quasi-mechanical biology bred much of that mid-Victorian melancholy which is so conspicuous a phase of the English literature of the past century. An especially characteristic note of this melancholy, in some of its most familiar expressions, you will remember, was a revulsion as much against the idea of the predeterminateness, and consequent meaningless of the time-process as against the cruelty of its past episodes and the bleakness of its anticipated future. Thus poor James Thomson wrote:

> If one is born a certain day on earth,
> All times and forces tended to that birth;
> Not all the world could change or hinder it.
> I find not hint throughout the universe
> Of good or ill, of blessing or of curse;
> I find alone necessity supreme
> And infinite mystery, abysmal, dark,
> Unlighted ever by the faintest spark,
> For us poor floating creatures of a dream . . . .
> Nothing is of us but the mouldering flesh
> Whose elements dissolve and merge afresh
> In earth, air, water, plants and other men.
> We perish thus, and all our wretched race
> Shall perish in its season and give place
> To other beings with their own time-doom—
> Infinite aeons ere our world began,
> Infinite aeons after the last man
> Has joined the mammoth in earth's tomb and womb.

Such was the outcome for the reflective imagination—or *an* outcome, and a not unnatural one—of mechanistic evolutionism, taken as a general theory of existence. But there was an older evolutionism which was radically anti-mechanistic. It was not the only, but certainly the most characteristic, feature of the German philosophical romanticism which developed and flourished between 1780 and 1820.

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Of this movement, not only with respect to the theory which here concerns us, but in most of its other elements also, Bergson's philosophy is essentially a revival. It is in the Romanticists—most notably in the *Naturphilosophie* of Schelling, and in the corresponding part of the doctrine of Schopenhauer—that you find the first typical and profoundly influential expression of what may be called an activistic or voluntaristic theory of the universe. Their sacred, never-sufficiently-to-be-uttered words were *Streben* and *Ringen*. Schelling too, for example, repeatedly insists, in phrases sometimes almost identical with Bergson's, that we must cease to think of reality as made up *things*, must understand that it in essence consists of *doings*. He too makes the organic prior to the inorganic, and the latter somehow derivative from the former; though with him too there is a sort of dualism in Nature—there is a provisional and limited obstruction, or retarding force, which the mechanical is capable of opposing to the living, the free, the creative. This Romantic activism, moreover, was fairly definitely developed into a doctrine of "creative" evolution. It is true that the Romantic philosophers did not all actually adopt the theory of the transformation of species through natural descent. Schelling at first argued for this biological hypothesis and afterwards abandoned it—apparently in favor of a sort of "progressionism"; Schopenhauer, on the contrary, at first repudiated transformism, but later came to see that the doctrine of organic evolution, in a Lamarckian, or rather a mutationist, form constituted the natural completion of his cosmology. But in spite of such waverings, the essential principle of creative evolutionism is abundantly emphasized and reiterated by nearly all the representative Romanic writers. Jacobi, for example, one of the Early Fathers of Romanticism, writes that "all life is forever transcending itself, is creative and productive." "The graded series of organisms," says Schelling, "and the transition from inanimate to living nature betrays a productive force which only gradually develops itself to

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full freedom." And again: "The transcendental philosophy, inasmuch as it regards all that is objective as at the outset *not yet present*, is by its very nature turned towards the living, towards that which is in process of becoming; for this philosophy is by its first principles *genetic*, and in it the spirit becomes and grows along with the world." Here we have an exact parallel to what we have seen to be the first and decisive step in Bergson's radical evolutionism: his repudiation of the assumption "*tout est donné*" and his affirmation of the absolute creative efficacy of the time-process.

The Romantic pantheism had, to be sure, two Gods, two very different Gods. One was the Eternal Changelessness of Neo-Platonism or of the Vedanta, the Perfection which has no need to do. This side of Romanticism has its Bergsonian counterpart in the doctrine of the complete fusion and interpenetration of all moments in "pure" duration. But the other, and the far more characteristic, God of Romanticism was that *ewiges, lebendiges Tun* which Goethe so often glorifies—that Power which works unceasingly

Umschaffen das Geschaffne,
Damit sich's nicht zum Starren waffne;

which ever brings forth the new, so that

Was nicht war, nun will es werden
Zu reinen Sonnen, farb'gen Erden;—
In keinem Falle darf es ruh'n
Es soll sich regen, schaffend handeln,
Erst sich gestalten, dann verwandeln
Nur scheinbar steht's Momente still.

There is a poem of the youthful Schelling—familiar to many here, no doubt, from the translation of it which Professor Royce has given in his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*—the concluding part of which may almost be described as a metrical version of the doctrine of *L'Évolution Créatrice;* it was, however, published something over a century earlier.

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Schelling there gives us the same picture of the world-spirit as, at first, a blind and feeble force, a stumbling giant, which yet mounts through all the successive forms of life until the whole process reaches its climax thus far in man; and the poem culminates in a rush of that same sort of cosmic emotion which we have observed in Bergson—an emotion engendered by the thought of the *oneness* of our being with all this vast movement of aspiring and struggling life, in all places and times.

> "I," says the World-Soul,
> "I am the God who Nature's bosom fills,
> I am the life that in her heart's blood thrills . . .
> From the first quiver of her mystic power . . .
> Onwards to where in thought's eternal youth
> Nature's deep self rewards itself in truth,
> There stirs one might, one pulse-beat all-sufficing,
> All power retaining, aye—and sacrificing."

Professor Royce's skilful version of the last lines does not quite suggest how "Bergsonian" they are in the original:

> *"Vom ersten Ringen dunkler Kräfte . . . .*
> *Hinauf zu des Gedankens Jugenkraft*
> *Wodurch Natur verjängt sich wieder schafft,*
> *Ist Eine Kraft, Ein Pulsschlag nur Ein Leben,*
> *Ein Wechselspiel von Hemmen und von Streben."*

The *Streben,* you see, is the *élan vital;* the *Hemmen* is the resistance offered by inert matter.

Bergson's chief significance, then, in relation to the history of modern thought, lies in this: that after a century's scientific progress, and after the intervening alliance of an evolutionary with a mechanistic philosophy of nature, he has revived this hypothesis of Romantic, activistic, or radical, evolutionism, as a serious philosophical doctrine; has once more insisted that the notions of evolution and of mechanism are not natural allies, but rather irreconcilable rivals for the primacy in our interpretation of the nature of

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things; and has declared that it is to the idea of real evolution that the primacy should be given. He has thus seemed to exorcise that spectre of a "block-world" which to much nineteenth century reflection had come to seem intolerable. He has presented to us the picture of a world which is at bottom alive, in which in truth there is at every moment "something doing" and something to do; in which there is a striving in progress which all *our* strivings help or hinder; in which, finally, the future contains the possibility of unimaginable fresh creations, of a real and cumulative enrichment of the sun of being.

II. Romantic Evolutionism and the Philosophy of Religion

In the first lecture we saw something of the bearing of the "Romantic" type of evolutionism upon the philosophy of nature. I there endeavored to make clearer its philosophical significance, its historical relations, and some of the reasons for its potent appeal to our age, by means of the contrast between it and that mechanistic conception of nature and nature's processes which as played so great a part in the past century's philosophy and science. In the present lecture we turn to consider the bearing of the same doctrine upon the philosophy of religion, to see what manner of religious interpretation of the world, and of our place in it would follow from an acceptance of a thoroughgoing romantic evolutionism. And here again, I think, we shall get the point better if we note the contrast between the religious implications of this latter-day doctrine and certain other historic answers to a single question which religious thought, in its quest of an understanding of the general sense and meaning of our existence, has repeatedly asked. The question is this: How are we to conceive the relation of all that goes on in time especially of the temporal experience of men, and of the incompleteness and fragmentariness of existence which necessarily belongs to temporality—how are we to conceive the relation of this to

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the "ultimate" or the "primary" of the "supreme" reality—to the Being whom religion names God?

There are five typical views which may be, and have been, taken with respect to this problem. Historically, the first four of them have rarely occurred separately; more than one of them, in other words, have been accepted, by most of the great theologians and religious philosophers. This has been due in part to confusion of thought. But the four are not, in fact, in all cases logically exclusive of one another. It will, none the less, conduce to a clearer understanding of the possibilities in the treatment of this problem of the philosophy of religion, if we consider each by itself. We shall be obliged in the course of this enumeration to spend some time upon the heights of Platonistic and Aristotelian speculative theology, where some, I am afraid, will find the air rather rarefied and hard to breathe. Yet an ascent to these altitudes is now and then, I think, profitable for all of us. At the end, all may be encouraged to know, we shall return to the kindly and familiar atmosphere of the plain of common human life.

1. The first of our five conceptions is the prevalent, though usually but vaguely defined view of popular religion in the Occident. According to this, there exists a Being immensely superior, indeed, in power and moral attributes to any other, but temporal and not, properly speaking, omnipotent, since there are things which actually exist, or events which actually occur, for which this Being is said not to be responsible, to which his will is said to be opposed. God is held to be a Creator, that is, to stand in the relation of cause to the world, but not in fact to "all that therein is"—in spite of the language of some of the favorite hymns of Christendom; for, as is at least usually believed, some parts of reality—namely, the wills and consequent action of men—have, so to say, broken loose from the divine causation, and operate in some measure independently and disconnectedly, and even antagonistically to the purpose and action of the primal power. The God of ordinary religious

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belief, again, does not possess the completeness of his existence all at once, but has to wait upon the time-process to bring it to him; indeed, it is not clear that he is not commonly conceived to possess even his own past in the form of mere retrospect or memory and thus truly to *be*, as we seem to be, only in the fleeting present instant. We may, then, I think, sum up the current way of thinking which belongs to the unreflective religious mind, with respect to the questions before us, by saying that it tends, though with a great deal of wavering and confusion, to think of its God as existing in time and limited by the nature of time; probably as temporally prior to the world; as somehow causative of a part, but not of the whole, of the actual content of the time-process; as more or less thwarted and disappointed by the course of events, though endowed with sufficient power to control that course in its prevailing tendency; and as morally but not metaphysically perfect or complete.

2. This seemingly simple anthropomorphism of popular religion has undeniably shown great practical serviceableness; it has been effective and morally useful. And its practical value has, I am sure, been essentially due to the fact that it gave us a God truly in time and fighting therein with us against real evil—an evil which does not flow from his nature. But to most of the great religious thinkers of nearly all ages and all faiths this view has not seemed one which it was possible to accept literally. It has appeared to them, in the first place, contrary to the very idea of a perfect and supreme entity that it should have its being come to it as ours comes to us, in that fragmentary way of which I have already spoken,—bit by bit as the moments lapse, and never all of it at once. The great mystics, too, in their report of what they held to be a sort of direct, empirical acquaintance with the divine nature, through the experience of mystical union, have commonly declared that nature to be, though in some indescribable manner, a Timeless Life. And thus the philosophic theologians of Christen-

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dom—as also of Judaism and of Islam—have commonly affirmed the *eternity* of God—his eternity in the strict sense of supratemporality, not of mere everlastingness. A life deserving the name divine must in this respect, surely, be generically distinct from man's, must be, as the famous defintion of Boethius runs, *interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio.* A *God* could not be supposed (except as a concession to the weakness of the human understanding), to be whirled along in the movement of time and to be involved, at least in the sense in which man is involved, in the changes and struggles which make up the world's temporal business. The idea of God, if it was to have any coherent and distinctive meaning, must be equivalent to the idea of an *absolute*—that is, a being characterized by what the Greek philosophers and theologians called αὐτάρκεια or "self-sufficiency," an entity the concept of which involved the concept of none other, the existence of which depended upon the existence of nothing else, and the perfect self-satisfaction and peace of which was intrinsically incapable of ever being diminished or disturbed. But though most philosophical theology has thus usually insisted upon the eternity and absoluteness of the ultimate reality, it has also agreed with popular religion in regarding its God as the source or cause of temporal existence, either altogether or in the greater part. There has been, in Occidental religious philosophy, at least since that fusion of Jewish and Platonic conceptions which gave to most medieval and modern religious thought its characteristic general form, a certain common, an all but universal, assumption—namely, that the highest, the complete, the absolute reality came first, in the logical and the causal order; that, while this reality could not, for the reasons which have been suggested, be given any of the attributes of the temporal world that changes and struggles and achieves, yet the temporal world proceded from, and was to be explained by, that "most perfect being." In short, it has been for the most part assumed that perfection in

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the full Platonistic sense was primary, and imperfection secondary and derivative. It has been this that the great theologians have meant when they have said either that, in the language of popular religion, the world was created by, or, in the language of neo-Platonism, that it emanated from, God. It is this essentially emanational view of the becoming of things that the Angelic Doctor expounds to Dante in the Fourth Heaven:

> "All things, whether mortal or immortal, are nought but the radiance of that Idea which in His love our Lord God brings to birth; for that Living Light which so proceeds from Its lucent source that It is not disunited from It, ... through Its own bounty collects Its rays, as it were, mirrored in new existences, Itself eternally remaining one. Thence, by degrees It descends to the nethermost possibilities of being, lending to each in turn, reality, becoming such that finally It makes nought but short-lived and contingent entities—by which I mean the generated things which the heavens in their motion produce."

There, at once, in poetic metaphor and in the terminology of medieval philosophy, you have a classic expression of this common presupposition of most of the religious philosophy of Europe—that what is perfect and omnipotent and absolute is in every sense prior to all lower and weaker and more meagre existences, and that the latter are to be explained as arising by a sort of overflow of the divine fullness, in the course of which the primal light was mingled with darkness, the white radiance of eternity was inevitably broken up into the many-colored confusion and disharmony and fragmentariness of the finite lives which change and pass in time—but all without affecting the timeless peace of the universal Source. There was, of course,—as all readers of Plato or of Dante must know,—a certain logic, or pseudo-logic, which was conceived to render this view both consistent with itself and necessary. Given, it was argued, the conception of a perfect being, and it could not but follow that all other logically conceivable beings should exist also,

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that every sort of possible existence should become actual. For a perfect being, as Plato put it, surely could not be "jealous"; on the contrary, it must necessarily produce other being, all the being that could be without conflict with the rationality of the Supreme Idea. But as evidently, it was argued, none of the created things could share in the perfection of the creator; for perfection is necessarily unique. If God was to create at all, he must therefore create things imperfect; his "goodness" or "bounty," (*bonitas*), it was paradoxically argued, involved as its consequence the production of the relatively evil, and so on down through the descending scale of excellence which Dante outlines. Meanwhile, the whole creation yearns to return to the peace and unity and perfection of its source; and of this yearning after the good as such all its motion and temporal striving was, in the medieval view of the world, the expression.

3. A third view, which makes one important addition to the second—that is; to the doctrine of the derivation of the temporal from the eternally complete is offered us by the philosophies of religion which have been a characteristic part of many of the idealistic systems of metaphysics since Kant's time, especially in Germany, England and America. The Kantian *Ego* having been developed into a universal Self in whose absolute experience all our fragmentary experiences are supposed to be included, the Kantian doctrine of the ideality of time has, not entirely without encouragement from Kant himself, been developed into the affirmation of the eternity of that absolute experience. The distinguishing addition which this doctrine makes to our second type or theory concerning the relation of the temporal to the conception of God, is that the temporal is now declared to be included within the eternal, the relative within the absolute, the finite and fragmentary within the perfect and complete and self-sufficient. The perfect is still held to be in a logical sense prior to the imperfect, to generate and explain it. But the imperfect, according to

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the view we are now considering, is not a mere lapse from perfection, a decline from the original fullness of being to lower grades of existence. It is rather an indispensable element in that richness and diversity and complexity of concrete content, which constitutes the very nature of the divine perfection. And the life that goes on in time is, by the same doctrine, not simply a kind of existence that stands blankly contrasted with a life eternal which has somehow mysteriously produced or extruded from itself its own opposite; it is rather the stuff of which eternity is made. The immutable is composed of changes—but of all the changes that ever occur, experienced all at once in their entirety, and seen as reciprocally implying one another.

In this conception of the relation of the imperfect and contingent and temporarily limited to the Supreme and self-existant and unchangeably rounded-out Reality, we have been bidden by not a few philosophers and theologians in the course of the past century to find the object of our religious devotion and the source of moral fortitude and of consolation. Professor Royce with especial fullness and with much earnestness and eloquence has presented this absolute idealism as a doctrine not only logically unescapable but also religiously satisfying. And, whatever one think of its logic, it indubitably seems upon first acquaintance to afford such satisfactions, and to lighten or even to remove the weary weight of all this unintelligible world. For, this philosophy (and Hegel's before it) tells us, the Absolute is ever at the goal, he eternally triumphs; and his triumph is our triumph, since we are one with him, and our little lives, our hard struggles, even our defeats, are necessary contributory factors in his time-transcending perfection. It is precisely this philosophy, Professor Royce has more than once assured us, that gives us a conception of God which expresses the deeper meaning of the great Christian doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement. The incarnation; for "God expresses himself in this world of finitude, incarnates himself in this realm of human im-

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perfection, but does so in order that through finitude and imperfection and sorrow and temporal loss he may win in the eternal world (that is, precisely, in the conscious unity of his whole life) his spiritual triumph over evil. In this triumph consists his highest good and ours. It is God's true and eternal triumph that speaks to us through the well known word 'In this world ye shall have tribulation. But fear not, I have overcome the world.'" Not less, our absolute idealist declares, does his metaphysics give the larger import of the doctrine of the atonement; for just as we, as consubstantial and necessary parts of the Absolute Experience, share, in a sense, in God's eternal triumph, so for the same reason does he share in, even while transcending, our temporal evil and imperfection.

To many thoughtful and religiously disposed minds this type of philosophy still carries both conviction and satisfaction. But there has been evident of late a sharp and growing antagonism against the doctrines of absolute idealism, and above all against its eternalism. Its dialectic has been found unconvincing; and its appearance of religious edification and consolation has been found specious. Logically, it requires us to accept the monstrous paradox that the temporal and the eternal can be one identical existence, that is, that succession can without loss of anything that belongs to its nature be experienced as simultaneity, that a series of changes can be brought within the compass of a changeless instant and still constitute change. But clearly this requirement demands a feat of synthesis too violent for the human intellect. We may *talk* about the inclusion of all becoming within an immutable, can understand the terms separately, and get no slight sense of mystical exaltation from their conjunction in a single proposition; but there is no way in which the same bit of experience can be coherently thought as at once *really* temporal and *really* eternal, as truly successive and yet as truly contained in a *totum simul,* a whole-all-at-once. We know very well, however, that *our* experience *is* temporal; and

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we cannot therefore think it any part of the experience of a time-transcending Absolute. And even if we could, after all, *we* are creatures very deeply engaged in this temporal business of living; and the only God who could seriously concern us would be a God who has a part in it too—and that in no strained and incomprehensible sense. And there would be only bitter irony in the invitation to console ourselves with the reflection that we share in the Absolute's triumph and he in our sorrows—when we realize that all that this means is that our strivings and griefs and failures are *enjoyed* by this Byronic Absolute as needful ingredients in the zest of his complete experience,—while we temporal creatures could never possess that time-transcending completion in which alone any real sharing in the triumph would consist.

4. There is a fourth possible conception of the relation of the temporal and the evolving to the supreme reality which has far fewer representatives in the history of philosophy and, perhaps, none who have presented it entirely disentangled from other ideas which tend to qualify or even negate it. But on the present occasion there are two special reasons why it should not be overlooked in our enumeration. It was, namely, approximated by the French precursor of Bergson, Felix Ravaisson-Mollien, from whom our contemporary's romantic evolutionism has every appearance of being derived; and it may be said to form a part, though not the whole, of the teaching of Professor Howison on the subject which we are this evening considering. This doctrine, like the third, affirms the existence of a perfect and supratemporal Reality, a Being whose existence is immutably and eternally complete, with respect to every metaphysical and every moral attribute. But it conceives this Being neither as the efficient cause of the imperfect and temporal, nor yet as an all-inclusive unity in which the imperfect and temporal are contained. The relation of the Perfect Reality to all the beings that change and develop in time is translated, to use the technical phrase-

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ology which most briefly expresses it, from the terms of efficient to terms of final causality. In other words, God is declared to be, not the source from which finite being emanates, not the Creator who calls it into existence by his volition, not the Whole of which it is a part,—but the realized ideal which draws all less complete existences onward towards fuller likeness with itself. Even the lowest forms of conscious life catch some dim vision of this serene perfection, are troubled by some vexing, forward-reaching sense of their common calling, which is nothing less than "the imitation of God." Thus the whole of temporal Becoming is construed as the unresting endeavor of all life towards its goal—but towards a goal that is from all eternity already attained by *one* Being, which therefore can know nought of striving—and can have no life in time. This fourth view, you see, embodies the Platonic-Aristotelian conception of the tendency of all finite existence towards the Absolute Good which is beyond the world of time and space; but it does not regard this movement as a "return," since it denies that this world has proceeded from, or been determined by, that Being. And in this denial lies the essential and distinctive characteristic of our fourth view.

What is commonly called evolution would, in such a doctrine, naturally figure merely as the lower stages of this universal ascending movement. In order, however, to be at all applicable to the actual phenomena of organic evolution such a philosophy would, I suppose, be obliged to ascribe consciousness to all living things, and to regard consciousness—i.e., appetition and at least some rudimentary form of purposive action—as causally efficacious in the vital process from the beginning, and increasingly efficacious as that process advances. Our fourth doctrine, in other words, would naturally include the biological theory known as psycho-vitalism. It should be added that such a doctrine would also inevitably be a dualism of the sort of which we were speaking in the previous lecture. It would

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imply, even if it neglected to assert, that the endeavor of imperfect beings in time towards the divine fullness of life is subject to some obstruction, some retarding force; and the refractoriness of inanimate matter would necessarily be to such a philosophy a somewhat opaque and inexplicable thing, a brute fact not to be accounted for. And, unless it were supposed that in their temporal progress some once imperfect beings may eventually reach their goal and pass into a supratemporal perfection—thus bringing a number of Gods, though of *parvenu* Gods, into existence—such a philosophy would further imply that this obstructive force can never be wholly overcome, but must still, after an incalculable lapse of time hold every being an infinite distance from the consummation after which it aspires, and for the sake of which alone (according to this philosophy) it strives or has ever striven.

A conception of this fourth type is at times clearly presented by the French philosopher to whom, probably, Bergson owed most. Ravaisson—an extremely influential figure in the French thought of the nineteenth century, but apparently little known outside of his own country—was an ardent admirer of the philosophy of Schelling, and may, I think, be said to have been the principal agent in bringing into France that Romantic evolutionism of which Schelling was one of the most notable early representatives. But Ravaisson was also a devoted Aristotelian, and his most considerable book is an exposition and defense and elaboration of the metaphysics of the Stagirite. Now Aristotle, as all readers of Greek philosophy who may be present will already have remembered, came extremely near to the view which I have just been outlining, but, for certain reasons which do not concern us here, cannot be said actually to have held it. If he had thought of God as *exclusively* the final cause of the universe, the Perfection which stands over against all imperfect things, and the Unmoved Mover of all solely through the potency of its ideal excellence; and if he had also conceived the striving of all individual

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beings, of all entelechies, towards the fulfillment of the distinctive potencies latent in them as an unbroken and unending evolutionary process—then Aristotle could, without qualification, have been set down as the great protagonist of our fourth conception. Ravaisson's characteristic work was to combine the Aristotelian emphasis upon final causation with the Schellingian sort of evolutionism. "Nature," he wrote in 1867, "exhibits everywhere a progress from the simple to the complex, from imperfection towards perfection, from dim and feeble life to life that is ever more powerful, more intelligible, and more intelligent at once. Every stage of this progress, moreover, is an end for the preceding stage, and a condition, or means, or material, for that which follows. . . . No event ever brings about a subsequent event with an absolute and geometrical necessity. It is only in a misleading and improper sense that the one can be assigned as the cause of the other. The so-called cause is in reality only *one* of the elements of the event, the negative element in a relative necessity, of the same nature as the necessity of the motives by which our free will is actuated—that is to say, a moral necessity which does not require us to deny, but rather implies, that the cause which is said to determine the effect is itself self-determining. It is only because the materialist is tricked by a sort of mirage which makes him see things upside down, that he supposes the order of causal necessity to correspond to the direct order of time (i.e., to run from antecedent to consequent), instead of seeing that it operates in the direction opposite to time's march (i.e., that the real causation is that of an unattained ideal). Fatality in this world, at least in the regular course of things, is only an appearance; spontaneity, liberty, is the reality. Far is it from true that all things take place by blind mechanism or by pure chance; rather, all take place by the development of a tendency towards perfection, towards the good, towards beauty,—a tendency which is *within* things as if it were an inner spring that pushes them onward in a move-

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ment that is without end."* This, of course, Ravaisson elsewhere observes, does not mean that the lower forms of life have an idea of God or that the worm mounts through all the spires of form from religious motives. "It is not by ideas that nature is ruled; the force that implies it is not any preconception of an abstract perfection. Reflection, prevision and action from definite design, are peculiar to man. Nature, therefore, tends everywhere towards the good, not because she beholds it above her as a distant ideal, but under the immediate influence of a blind desire. Thus the attainment of the good has its efficient as well as its final cause; but that good is Thought, *la pensée et la pensée de la pensée* (the Aristotelian *νοησις νοησεως*). Thus everything is ordered of itself in the spontaneous impulsion of nature (the *élan spontané de la nature*) *as if* by the abstract calculations of a foreseeing reflection. Nature is as it were penetrated by the substantial Thought which gives it life, and which incessantly stirs it with a restless and insatiable desire. It does all, without knowing it, for a single end, which is Reason itself. The universe, science, morality, the world of body and of soul—all is but the instrument, the organ, made to serve the divine Thought, and beyond the world this Thought ever thinks itself in the eternity of its immutable activity and its supreme felicity."*

I have quoted from Ravaisson thus at length, because the passages cited show the probable source of a number of the most characteristic elements of Bergsonism—the *élan vital*, the biological indeterminism, the conception of unconscious purposiveness—and also make evident the affinity of our fourth conception to romantic evolutionism. To this fourth conception, however, Ravaisson does not consistently adhere. He is not content with a God who is solely the final cause of the evolutionary process; he feels the need of somehow explaining the finite and imperfect by grounding its very existence in that of the perfect and

* *La Philosophie en France au 19e siecle*, 3d ed., pp. 269–270.

* *Essai sur la métaphysique d'Aristote*, 1837; Vol. I, pp. 594-5.

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eternal and self-subsistent. He reverts, therefore, in some passages to our second view of the relation of temporal reality to God, that is, to a form of emanationism, or perhaps rather of creationism. "It is impossible," he writes, "to comprehend the origin of an existence inferior to the absolute existence, except by regarding it as the result of a voluntary determination by which that higher existence has, so to say, moderated, suppressed, extinguished, something of its omnipotent activity. . . . May we not say that the existence which the First Cause possesses as it were concentrated in its immutable eternity, it also unrolls, stretches out, diffuses, under the elementary conditions of materiality, viz., time and space; and that it thus in some fashion lays the foundation of the existence of nature,—a foundation upon which, by that continuous progress which is the order of nature, from stage to stage, from kingdom to kingdom, all gradually returns from that dispersion which is matter to that unity which is spirit?" Not only does Ravaisson thus look upon the temporal world, after the manner of our second conception, as derived from God by way of a diminution of his perfection; he also manifests the tendency of which our third conception was the full and deliberate expression. He likes, that is, to dwell upon the thought of the divine immanence. "It is in God and through God that we have all that we possess of life, of movement and of existence. He is our self even more than we can be said to be ourselves, constantly and in a thousand ways strangers to ourselves as we are."

Professor Howison, as it should be needless to say in this place, admits into his philosophy no such incongruous combination of the fourth conception with the second and third. There is, he plainly tells us, no God who existed in time before the world and made it by his *fiat*, or from whom imperfect beings and their temporal existence are derived in any way analogous to that in which a stream is derived from its source. And there is no one Absolute Self or Universal Experience in which all finite selves and

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their experiences are contained—and by whose total Will they are wholly determined. But there is in truth, he adds, a God who is a perfect and eternal Being, who has no share in our evil and incompletion and is not subject to the movement of time, but yet has a real and significant relation to the temporal order. This relation is that which alone can naturally and intelligibly subsist between Perfection and the imperfect. It is not in the nature of the perfect to generate imperfection, as the strange logic of Platonic emation supposed; its characteristic office is to draw the imperfect after itself—if, that is, that which is imperfect is after all in its fundamental nature a being of the same type as the perfect, made in the same generic image, however unlike it be in actual attainment. And this last, as Professor Howison tells us, is the case; the world in its entirety is made up of conscious selves, ranging from the lowest expression of which individuated consciousness is capable up to the Supreme Exemplar, but all participating in a common essence, all alike self-active and stirred to their activity by a common, though unequally fulfilled, vocation. Thus the relation of God to the temporal process and to 'evolution' is in this philosophy *purely* that of final causality. He is the Archtype of all Being, after whose likeness all incomplete being aspires; he is not the Artificer of the world, nor any other type of efficient cause, nor is his eternal life paradoxically declared to be an existence identical with any temporal life.

If we consider, then, only this part of Professor Howison's doctrine, we have in it a perfect example of the essential principle of our fourth way of thinking about the relation of the time-process to the highest reality. In no other case in the history of philosophy, so far as I can recall, has this way of thinking been so boldly and vigorously, and so nearly undeviatingly, followed through. There are, it is true, other parts of the doctrine which its author greatly emphasizes; to complete the exposition, if that were needful here, these should, of course, be introduced; and

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there might then be room for debate whether certain of them do not imply a qualification of the fourth conception. One of these further considerations ought perhaps to be mentioned, so material does Professor Howison conceive it to be. God, his philosophy declares, is not the only eternal being in the universe. Every individual self has also an existence which is not in time; and viewed in that eternal aspect, it too may in some sense be called 'perfect.' In this aspect, therefore, no self can be said either to evolve or to be a product of evolution. Only, all beings but one have also another side to their existence which is the side in terms of which the individuality of each is defined. To be different and distinct from God and from one another, they must be distinguished each by its own characteristic degree of imperfection,—which, however, it ever tends to transcend; hence its need of a temporal existence in which this process of self-transcendence, which is yet in a deeper sense a self-realization, may be carried on. These, however, are rather subtle and elusive conceptions to be discussed in an oral discourse, and before a company not wholly composed of metaphysicians; and in any case a proper examination of them would lead us too far from our present general theme. So far as it concerns the specific question before us, Professor Howison's philosophy is notable because (for reasons which we lack the time to consider) it expressly repudiates what we have seen to be the common assumption of the second and third views which we have considered—the assumption that the existence of temporal incompletion is derived from, and is somehow to be explained by, the existence of the absolute and perfect Reality whom religion calls God. In this negation, at least, this philosophy is at one with the fifth and last answer to our question, which we are next to consider. And this negation is a momentous step, in its bearing upon the past preconceptions and arguments of theology and the philosophy of religion, one may say, I think, that it is *the* momentous step. The principal difficulty which most the-

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ologians, at least, would be likely to urge against the fifth conception, would be directed against the feature which it has in common with the fourth conception—namely, against the negation which has just been mentioned.

5. This fifth conception, if it must have a label, may be described as radical temporalism and radical evolutionism applied to the philosophy of religion. That this application should be made is obviously a natural, not to say an inevitable, outcome of the reflective movement of the past half-century. At the present juncture in the history of thought, when the Eternal though All-Embracing Absolute of the monistic idealist is being found by many to be both logically impossible and religiously unprofitable; and when the evolutionary habit of mind, the habit of thinking of the lower or simpler as antecedent to higher and fuller modes of existence, has become universal and deep seated: at such a juncture it is natural that men, desiring, as all must, a view of the world which may have a religious value—which may, that is, give value to life and a larger meaning and moment, and a more powerful backing, to our moral endeavors—should turn to that Romantic evolutionism the earlier manifestations of which we noted in the previous lecture. At first, as we saw, this conception was involved in entangling alliances with alien ideas; with the timeless noumenal world of Platonism or of Kant's ethical writings; or, in its most notable representative, with a pessimism which may have represented Arthur Schopenhauer's personal reaction on his experiences, but had no necessary connection with the central thesis of his metaphysics. From these alliances the conception has in the course of the century more and more freed itself; so that we finally find it expressed in a fairly unmixed form. When we do so, we reach a view of the world and of God which is a final reversal of the medieval view, one which has abandoned the fundamental assumptions of our second and third doctrines—the assumption of the primacy of the perfect, and the derivation of the temporal and imperfect from, or

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its inclusion in, an eternal or time-transcending ultimate reality. But, agreeing so far with the fourth view, a thorough Romantic evolutionism in theology would go farther, and find no place in its world of concrete existences for any perfect or any eternal entity, even as final cause of the upward-reaching activity of the imperfect. The only God it could know would be 'a God in the making.'

Of this radically evolutionized theology, if I may so describe it, I suppose the most aggressive spokesman among writers of English is Mr. George Bernard Shaw. It is perhaps not always remembered that, in spite of his inordinate urgency to figure as the *enfant terrible* of his generation, Mr. Shaw has a theology which he cares very seriously about, and which is, perhaps, the most fundamental of his convictions. He appears to have been led to it in part, at least, through the influence of Samuel Butler. As long ago as 1898 in his remarkable little book on Wagner he was preaching this gospel of romantic evolutionism, this theology of the life-force; and he presented it as an interpretation of the implicit philosophy of the music-dramas of Wagner the *acht-und-vierziger,* the revolutionist of '48. "The only faith," wrote Mr. Shaw, "which any reasonable disciple can gain from the *Ring* is not in Love, but in life itself as a tireless power which is continually drawing onward and upward—not, please observe, being beckoned or drawn by *Das Ewig-Weibliche* or any other external sentimentality, but growing from within by its own inexplicable energy, into higher and ever higher forms of organization, the strengths and needs of which are continually superseding the institutions which were made to fit our former requirements." What you have here, you see—as Mr. Shaw himself plainly enough indicates—is Schopenhauer's metaphysics of the Will-to-Live dissociated from pessimism and also from the doctrine of the eternal immutability with which it was first incongruously combined. Mr. Shaw has subsequently more than once returned to this theme and reiterated the same ideas with more elaboration. Theology,

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he remarked in a lecture on "The New Theology" delivered in London in 1907—theology has all along been making "the entirely gratuitous assumption that the force behind the universe is omnipotent." Such an assumption, however, when compared with the known facts, he finds clearly inadmissible; and it involves a highly irregligious idea of the divine nature. For if the primal force was omnipotent, "Why did it create us? If there were three orders of existence—man, as we know him, the angels higher than man, and God higher than the angels—why did God first create something lower than himself, and then something lower than the angels, man? I cannot believe in a God who would do that. If I were God, I would try to make something higher than myself, and then something higher than that."

We ought, then, Mr. Shaw continues, to hold that what is "back of the universe" is not an omnipotent perfection, but an aspiring will, a developing life-force; we should think of God "as a great purpose, a great will, and further —more as engaged in a continual struggle to produce something higher and higher." This force we must picture as at first lacking instruments, "needing something to carry out its will in the world, making all manner of experiments, creating birds, reptiles, animals, trying one thing after another, rising higher and higher in the scale of organism and finally producing man; and then inspiring that man, putting his will into him, getting him to carry out his purpose, saying to him . . . 'I have made your hand to do my work, I have made your brain, and I want you to work with them and try to find out the purpose of the universe. And when one instrument is worn out, I will make another and another, always more and more intelligent and effective." Thus, as Mr. Shaw concludes, "the object of the whole evolutionary process is to realize (i.e., to make real) God; that is to say, instead of the old notion that creation began with God, a personal being, who, being perfect, created something lower than himself, the aim of the New

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Theology is to turn the process the other way, and to conceive of the force behind the universe as working up through imperfection and mistake to a perfect organized being having the power of fulfilling its highest purposes."

Now, in these passages we have in untechnical language a thoroughly clear and frank statement of what the philosophy of religion of a thorough-going temporalism and a really radical evolutionism of the Romantic type, would naturally be. And we have in them also an untechnical statement of what the philosophy of religion suggested by Bergson's *Creative Evolution*—the book bearing that name—would naturally be understood to be. The parallel between the characteristics ascribed by Shaw to the life-force and by Bergson to the *élan vital* is—allowing for the difference between the language of a popular lecture and that of a philosophical treatise—about as close as possible. Bergson argues with much force and emphasis in that volume against the assumption which, as he says, "lies at the base of ancient"—more correctly, of all Platonistic—"philosophy: that there is more in the motionless than in the moving, and that we pass from immutability to becoming by way of diminution or attenuation." He argues with no less energy against the tendency of post-Kantian idealists to regard the forms which succeed one another as deducible "directly from the one complete being which they are supposed to manifest"; this, he insists, "is to deny to derivation all efficacy." Clearly, the philosophical undertaking to which he appears to commit himself, and which we have seen to be the most characteristic feature of his programme—that of construing reality through and through as a thing *se faisant*, and not *tout fait*—would preclude the recogni-

* Lecture in Kensington Town Hall, 1907; published in *The Christian Commonwealth*, 1907. This last passage, and that from Dante earlier cited, seem to me to offer so typical a contrast between the two extreme views upon the question here dealt with, that I have ventured to quote both again, though I have already employed them in an article in *The Nation*, 1909.

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tion of any self-sufficient, and perfect reality either transcendent of time, or temporally or logically antecedent to the evolutionary process. Even the most careful reader of Bergson's most widely read book would, I am sure, be likely to suppose that the term *élan vital* was his equivalent of the term God. Indeed, in one sentence he definitely enunciates and adopts the conception of a God in the making. As defined by the argument which he has presented, writes Bergson, "God has nothing of the already made; he is unceasing life, action freedom." And, it is in this life, we seem to be told, that we human individual persons subsist. So in his *L'Intuition philosophique* Bergson declares that "human consciousness is affiliated to a vaster and higher consciousness. The forces which are at work in all things, we feel also in ourselves; whatever be the inner nature of that which is and which is making itself, we are *of* it."

It is, then, a species of romantic evolutionary pantheism which one would suppose to be the philosophy of religion implied by *L'Evolution Creatrice*. But a little more than a year ago, to the surprise of many, M. Bergson gave a reply to an inquiry on the subject which at first seems to suggest that it is *not* such a philosophy of religion which he holds or had intended to convey. A Belgian Jesuit, Father de Tonquédec, published in 1912 in the *Études*, the scholarly review maintained by members of the Society of Jesus, an article on the religious aspect of Bergson's philosophy in which he pointed out that M. Bergson had, after all, given an ambiguous answer to the theological problem of the relation of God to the world. His philosophy repeatedly bids us "reascend the current of life to its source." But is that source of the same nature as, and identical in being with, the movement which proceeds from it, "or is there *dans les régions transcendantes* something radically distinct from even the purest current of created life?" There are texts in Bergson's books, and aspects of his reasoning, Father de Tonquédec observed, which readily suggest the former interpretation, the conclusion that for him

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"there cannot be substantial identity between life and its source." But there are many other expressions, and other implications of the Bergsonian argument, which appear to demand the contrary construction. Thus, as Father de Tonquédec concluded, one cannot determine, "in reading M. Bergson, whether 'God' is a name given to a reality which will *become* the world, or whether the word designates *quelque chose ou quelqu'un de plus reculé dans l'audelà.*"

Being thus invited to define his theological position with more explicitness, M. Bergson replied in two letters to his critic, which have since been published in the *Études;* and in these he seemed to authorize the former of the two interpretations, mentioned by Father de Tonquédec.

"I speak of God," he wrote (pp. 268–272 of *Creative Evolution*) "as the source from which proceed, one after another, as an effect of his liberty, the currents or élans of which each constitutes a world; he therefore remains distinct from these and it is not of him that one can say that 'most often it comes to a stop' or that it is 'at the mercy of the materiality which it has taken upon itself.' Finally the argument by which I establish the impossibility of non-existence is not at all directed against the existence of a cause transcending the world; on the contrary, I have explained that it has reference to the Spinozistic conception of being. The outcome of it is simply that *something* must have always existed. On the nature of this something, to be sure, it expresses no positive conclusion; but it in no way says that what has always existed is the world itself and the rest of the book says explicitly the contrary." I may add that M. Bergson neglects at this point to give references to the passages in his book in which this is explicitly said. In a later letter, he goes so far as to represent his entire philosophical work as constituting a long, connected proof of the existence of God, and of an external or transcendent God, not one with the world which he creates. "The considerations," M. Bergson writes, "which I have set forth in my *Essay on the Immediate Data of*

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Consciousness culminated by bringing to light the fact of liberty; those in *Matter and Memory* made palpable, I trust, the reality of spirit (or mind); those in *Creative Evolution* presented creation as a fact. From all this there clearly emerges the idea of a God who is a creator and who is free; who generates at once matter and life; and whose creative effort continues, on the side of life, though the evolution of species and the formation of human personalities. From all this, consequently, there results the refutation of monism and of pantheism in general." M. Bergson declined, however, to say more upon these theological questions, on the ground that, whatever his personal views, his philosophic method as such had as yet carried him only to the conclusions set down. "I have nothing," he wrote, "to add for the moment, as a philosopher, since the philosophic method as I understand it is rigorously moulded upon experience (inner or outer) and does not permit one to enunciate a conclusion which in any measure goes beyond the considerations on which it is based. If my works have been able to inspire some confidence in minds which philosophy had hitherto left indifferent, it is for this reason: I have never given any place to what was simply a personal opinion or a conviction incapable of being objectified by this particular method."

The account which, in these concluding words, M. Bergson gives of his own philosophic procedure need not, of course, be assumed without inquiry to describe what he always does, but only what he intends to do—which is, in fact, precisely what nearly every other philosopher intends to do. The question is not one of intentions, but of the success with which they are executed. In the present case I feel obliged to express the opinion that M. Bergson has nowhere in his printed books furnished the argument or expressed the conclusion which the reader of these letters might naturally suppose that he had furnished and expressed. That he has not formally excluded the possibility of a transcendent deity, prior and external to the evolving

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world, and setting it in motion without being implicated in that motion, is true enough. But has he, as a matter of fact, offered anything remotely resembling a demonstration, or a serious attempt at a demonstration, of the theological conclusion to which in the letters cited he represents his entire course of reasoning as tending? If you turn to the particular pages of *Creative Evolution* to which he especially refers as giving his conception of God—they correspond to pages 247–251 in the English translation, if you care to examine them—you will, indeed, discover that he there figuratively describes "God," with a somewhat Dantesque boldness of metaphor, as "a center from which worlds shoot out like rockets in a fireworks display." But he adds that we must not represent this center as a *thing,* but as a *continuité de jaillissement,* a continuous shooting out; and there immediately follow the significant words already quoted: "God thus defined has nothing of the already made; he is unceasing life, action, freedom." And the nature of this creative activity, we are further told, "we experience ourselves whenever we act freely." Now in this similitude, I think you will agree, there is *not* suggested the conception of a transcendent deity in the Jesuit theologian's sense—the term God is distinctly not applied to something in "the transcendental regions distinct from the purest current of created life," and there is no approach to the assertion that there "cannot be any substantial identity between life and its source." On the contrary, the identity in nature between all life and its perennial source is plainly affirmed. In the entire passage in question Bergson simply gives the name of God to the inexhaustible reservoir of vital energy in which he believes; but he warns us that we must not be misled by the figure—the reservoir is not a receptacle containing this energy, it is not a reserved quantity of life-force kept temporarily in an active condition until needed; it is just the endless "shooting out" of life itself, regarded as inexhaustible,—viewed, so to say, under its aspect of inexhaustibility.

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No, I am afraid that in his correspondence with Father de Tonquédec—a correspondence which is apparently destined to a certain celebrity—M. Bergson has added a gloss to his published doctrine which does not, as it is likely to be understood, faithfully render the natural sense and dominant tendency of that doctrine. His books contain no real "refutation of monism and of pantheism in general"; and, so long as he is speaking of a world of Becoming that really becomes, his God is simply that Becoming—or, if you please to use such expressions, is the soul or ever pulsing heart of it. There is, it is true, that other and incogruous aspect of Bergson's account of reality with which our two last lectures have made us familiar; and this implies a God, object of a perfect intuition, who is beyond what we ordinarily mean by time altogether. For *real* time, according to this stricter sense of Bergson's doctrine about duration, is one in which the moments fuse and interpenetrate and contact into a unity. But as we saw at our last meeting, in some of his later writings Bergson has inclined to admit that at best we human creatures never intuit duration perfectly, never experience as it is at its maximum of tension and concentration. And in one curious passage in *Creative Evolution* he speaks of this maximum interpretation of the parts of time as constituting the existence of the Absolute—an existence of which ours partakes, though imperfectly. "When," he writes, "we strive to see in order to see, and no longer to see in order to act"—or, as they would have said in the Middle Ages, when we turn from the active to the contemplative life—"then the Absolute is revealed as very near us and in a certain measure in us. It is of psychological and not of mathematical or logical essence. It lives with us. Like us, *but in certain aspects infinitely more concentrated and more gathered up into itself,* it endures." Here we see the obscurity in which Bergson's original definition of time in terms which deny all the essential attributes of time envelops every part of his doctrine. Even his God appears now as a developing life-force, and now as a

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supratemporal Absolute, like the Absolute of pantheistic idealism, whose life is concentrated into a Single Eternal Moment. But the only condition under which it is possible to make one's way at all through Bergson's philosophy is to hold these two contradictory aspects of his doctrine rigorously apart in one's mind to forget the one when you are thinking of the other.

To come back to the point, then; for contemporary religious thought the relatively more novel and the more influential aspect of Bergson's teaching is certainly to be found in his conception of creative evolution, and in those expressions of his which suggest as the central feature of a philosophy of religion the conviction that the whole evolutionary process is the manifestation of an expansive life-force, inexhaustible and ever active, yet not omnipotent and never at the goal of its activity: a power which manifests itself at first in low and feeble forms of life, and even in its ascent frequently deviates from its true course, but always extricates itself, always continues to produce fuller and richer and more various and more highly individualized forms of life, culminating thus far in man, and by this culmination revealing the meaning and main direction of that blind, unknowing striving, which has from the first urged life inexorably upward.

There can, then (I think), be no doubt that this is the type of religious conception which Bergson, whether he himself fully means it or not, has most naturally been understood to have taught. And there can be little doubt that this type is destined to have a great place in the religious thought of the future. The past year, for example, has furnished two conspicuous evidences of the progress of this tendency in the philosophy of religion. There has appeared within a few months one of the more noteworthy of the philosophical writings of the last quarter of a century—Mr. L. T. Hobhouse's *Development and Purpose;* and the laborious and conscientious reasoning of this book terminates in an argument for a species of radically evolu-

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tionistic, and frankly dualistic, theism, which is essentially a form of our fifth conception. Again, the extensive *Psychological Study of Religion* which Professor Leuba has recently published concludes with the prediction that "the Religion of the Future will have to rest content apparently with the idea of a non-purposive Creative Force, making of the universe neither an accidental creation nor one shaped in accordance with some preconceived plan." And Professor Leuba has no doubt that such a conception of the world is capable of functioning inwardly in human life as a religious belief should function. "There is no question," he writes, "but that Humanity idealized and conceived as a manifestation of Creative Energy possesses surpassing qualifications for a source of religious inspiration."

Certain it is that many minds in our time *are* gaining religious inspiration and experiencing a release of fresh moral energy through this aspect of Bergson's teaching. "To read the great pages of *Creative Evolution*"—so writes a friend of no small philosophical gifts and learning, and of the highest intellectual integrity—"is to see proved in the technical fashion of philosophy what we knew in our heart of hearts all the time; namely, that mechanism and determinism as a metaphysic could not be true; that the time-process is real; that evolution is more than a rearrangement of the given; that it means achievement, that life in its higher development is free, that it is, in fact, a great spiritual adventure. The end no man can know, for the reason that our ideals advance as we strive towards them, and we pursue a fleeing goal. New prospects are thus opened up before our thought, and our spiritual horizon is indefinitely enlarged." That seems to me to be a very good expression of the temper of seriousness and ardor and high hope which is naturally—though perhaps not necessarily—produced by that one among the many and confused elements of Bergson's philosophy with which these lectures have been concerned. And this, surely, is a fine, a wholesome, and also a genuinely religious, temper.

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But—"proved in the technical fashion of philosophy." Has Bergson done that? To a society of students of philosophy this, after all, must seem the most important question to raise concerning him, since the philosopher's quest is not for the pleasant or even the edifying, but for the verifiably true. The doctrine of Romantic evolutionism, which, as these lectures have tried to show, is at once a philosophy of nature and a philosophy of religion, still has its reckoning to make, on the one hand, with natural science, especially with the theory of scientific method; and on the other hand, with those theologians to whom any of our first four conceptions seem to rest upon 'Necessities of thought.' With these questions the coming decades will probably be much occupied. But they are questions which can be suitably discussed only in the careful and rigorous, if not necessarily in the technical, manner of philosophy—a manner which I am not sure that M. Bergson's way of thinking, or at least his very attractive way of writing, invariably exemplifies. But the requisites for a right philosophical discussion of these issues are plenty of time—for philosophy, at least, should not be in a hurry—and a patient and painstaking and exacting intellectual activity on the part of those who desire to participate in the enterprise. The latter requisite is not, I trust, likely to be lacking in the present company. But the time during which I was told that I might talk to you this evening has already been exceeded. To a temporalist philosopher, however, it is a not wholly ungratifying circumstance that, whatever be the success of his arguments, he can at least through the length of his discourse always bring home to his hearers a vivid and profound conviction of the reality of duration.

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TO THE CITY OF THE GATE

SAMUEL STEEN MAXWELL

Oh Watcher by the Western Gate,
Where East meets West and old meets new,
Maintain thy guard inviolate
But let the larger world life through—
The larger life which faith hath sung,
And commerce fair in goods and grain;—
But trade that trusts in lying tongue
And narrow creeds that cramp and chain
And systems shrewd that truth retard
To these thy gateway shall be barred.

The tide shall come of human throngs,
With high ambition, base desire,
And murderous plot, and poet's songs,
And builder's dreams, and arson's fire.
Yet Learning in her lordly seat
Which thou hast built with forecast wise
Shall calmly winnow chaff and wheat,
And weigh the varied merchandise,
Shall purge the dross, and melt the gold
And cast it in a larger mould.

And thou shalt build great halls of health,
Where science with her myriad eye
Through magic tube with mystic stealth
The secret seeds of death shall spy,

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For strange new forms of foul complaint—
  Insidious plague, and tropic ills,
And lethal sleep, and leprous taint—
  Seek entrance to thy plains and hills.
To these thy portal shall be barred
And thou, unsleeping, shalt keep guard.

There is no West, there is no East,
  Since man hath made the oceans one;
And, breathing fire, trade's iron beast
  May trace the circuit of the sun.
The world is one. Yet man is man,
  And flesh is flesh, and race is race,
And dark suspicion still shall scan
  The tell-tale pigment of the face.
'Gainst narrow hate and envy hard
Impartial thou shalt still keep guard.

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A STUDY OF THE SUPERNATURAL IN THREE PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE

EDWIN WILEY

I

JULIUS CAESAR

The plays of Shakespeare are so universal in scope, and their method so objective, that there is danger of going astray in drawing conclusions from isolated passages. The fact is sometimes lost sight of, that the poet was primarily a creative artist, whose creed, as we know, not only from his work, but his words as well, was to hold the mirror up to nature, and to give the form and pressure of the time. We cannot be justified in asserting that he desired to formulate any system of religion, ethics, or philosophy, yet he has been cited as an advocate of all beliefs and no belief; an idealist, sensualist, humanist, and what not; a determinist and an indeterminist, etc. These inferences have been drawn from his work, and, perhaps, with good reason, for the materials of his art were the primary sources of all systems of knowledge and belief: nature and human experience. In common with all creative spirits of the highest type, his nature was plastic and sympathetic rather than dogmatic; mediatorial rather than partisan. Thus it is that, even in the portrayal of a character so hateful to his own age as that of Shylock, he could

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not avoid instilling a certain element of sympathy and brotherhood into his creation, thereby rendering *The Merchant of Venice* to the minds of many a tragedy rather than the comedy first intended.

It would, however, be equally erroneous to assume that one of such power and insight as Shakespeare could concern himself with the infinite variety of human relations and collisions without formulating some sort of theory regarding the hidden forces of which they are the outward expression. Just what this theory is in the case of Shakespeare may never be faithfully determined, yet if his works be taken as a whole, its outlines may be distinguished. Thus we know, from comparative and chronological study that his plays fall into three groups: (1) the lyric and objective productions of his youth, when he seemed to be concerned mainly with the problems of his art; (2) the more serious and ultimately, tragic creations, which concern themselves with the tremendous issues of evil, of destiny, of death; and (3) the final utterances of his genius, which apparently indicate that he has attained an understanding of life's darker questions and points a way of solving them. That this rough grouping may be justified is shown not only by the spirit of the plays, but also by the themes he selected for treatment during the different periods of his creative activity. That *Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet* fall within the first group does not invalidate the point made, for the first is essentially a part of the chronicle plays upon which he had been working; and the other is the portrayal of the beauty and poetry of love; the tragic fate of the lovers, one might say, being little more than an incident, and, indeed, relatively unmotived. A comparison of this play with that of *Othello* clearly reveals how far they are separated in spirit.

Just what influences entered into the poet's life to cause him to pass almost abruptly from comedy to tragedy, we do not know. The *Sonnets* offer a certain explanation, and one that must be accepted, until it is proved beyond question

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that they are merely artistic conceits and not the records of a personal experience. Whatever the external causes, this much we may be sure of, that the more serious aspects of life began to influence Shakespeare's art about the end of the sixteenth century. This mood, suggested in his brightest comedy, *As You Like It,* by the character of Jacques, deepens in the tragi-comedies of *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Measure for Measure;* and finds its definitive expression in *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet.* For nearly a decade the problem of evil held him as in a spell, and he studied it from every aspect, from its origin in thought to its flowering in deed; apparently seeking throughout all its explanation and ultimate cause.

Doubtless the last thing Shakespeare desired to be was preacher or moralist. Yet since morality is based upon human relations, as is the drama itself, there are ethical implications in the plays that cannot be reasoned away. Now granting that there is persistence of human personality after death, and that a supernatural world truly subsists, it is clear that man has certain affiliations with that world. Ethical responsibility, therefore, does not cease with human relations, but extends to the spiritual cosmos as well. These facts have been so universally accepted that the greatest minds of all ages have been seeking the laws that determine these wider affiliations of the human soul. In face of Shakespeare's knowledge and extensive use of material drawn from the lore of the supernatural, it would be remarkable did we fail to discover in the plays any treatment in dramatic form of man's relation to the world of spirit. That he essays these very problems the most casual study of *Julius Caesar, Hamlet* and *Macbeth* would seem to verify.

Julius Caesar is noteworthy for several reasons; it is the first of that tremendous series of tragedies that ends with *Timon of Athens* and *Coriolanus;* the first in which Shakespeare makes use of materials found in Plutarch's *Lives;* and the first in which the supernatural assumes an organic

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relation to the play as a whole. The study of his attitude respecting the supernatural, is, however, rendered difficult by the fact that the whole drama is little more than an artistic transmutation of Plutarch's narratives of the lives of Caesar, Antony, and Brutus, as Englished by North. The age of Plutarch was one of religious and philosophic chaos; the ancient faiths had lost their hold upon the people, who became victims of all sorts of cults, or were openly sceptical. The higher classes and the scholars, however, had substituted philosophy for religion, and here confusion also reigned, for every kind of sophistry and philosophical vagary had its adherents, the general trend being towards some form of scepticism, such as Pyrrhonism, Epicureanism, or Stoicism.[1] Plutarch, however, was a Neo-Platonist, a mystic, and a bitter opponent of Epicureanism, hence we find a certain stressing of the supernatural in his works.[2] He was likewise, profoundly interested in problems of occult philosophy, and in his essay *On Isis and Osiris* develops a highly dualistic theory of good and evil. He also claimed to have been an initiate into the Dionysic mysteries.

Therefore Shakespeare found in the sources of *Julius Caesar* a systematization of supernatural lore. This seems to have made a profound impression upon him, for hints given in Plutarch are strongly emphasized in the play. In particular has he taken the incident of the appearance of the apparition to Brutus and elaborated it so as to portray the spirit of Caesar as potent after death as the living Caesar was before. Plutarch does not assert that the apparition which appeared to Brutus on the night before the battle of Philippi was the ghost of the dead Ceasar. Shake-

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I, chap. 2.

[2] *On superstition. On Isis and Osiris. On the cessation of Oracles. On the Pythian responses. On the daemon of Socrates. Letter of consolation to his wife.* Cf. Super, *Between Heathenism and Christianity* (N. Y., 1899). Gréard, *De la Morale de Plutarque* (P., 1902). Volkman, R., *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* (Berl., 1893). Oaksmith, John, *Religion of Plutarch* (L., 1902).

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speare, however, has so interpreted it, rendering the inference necessary that he proposed to portray the disembodied spirit of Caesar as still active, and battling invisibly with Antony and Octavius against Brutus and Cassius. This interpretation perhaps explains one fact that has proved puzzling, which is the naming of the play. Viewed in any other way, Brutus would have been more appropriate for the title, but the inference is clear that Caesar, both incarnate and discarnate, should be conceived as the protagonist of the drama.

As so much of the element of the supernatural is found in Plutarch, *Julius Caesar* does not offer, therefore, as clear a statement of Shakespeare's use of this material as *Hamlet* and *Macbeth,* yet the fact that he retains and emphasizes all of it, renders it a useful commentary on the succeeding plays. It has already been indicated that nearly all phases of occult phenomena are used in *Julius Caesar:* prophecies are uttered, prodigies and omens apear on the earth and in the skies; strange dreams are recounted; a ghost appears; and the spirits of the departed incite men to deeds of revenge, or forecast their defeat and death.

It is not clear that we are to understand that the spirit of Pompey the Great is inspiring Cassius to conspire against Caesar, yet a passage in Plutarch and several in the play would suggest such inference. In Plutarch's *Life of Caesar,* the following passage occurs:

> It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favor the doctrine of Epicurus), beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it, to aide him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half beside himself.

The passages in the play regarding Pompey's spirit do not prove this point, but the continual allusions to his memory are suggestive:

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Marullus—

O you hard hearts, you cruel men of Rome,
Knew you not Pompey
. . . . . (I:1:41)

Cassius—

They stay for me
In Pompey's porch.
. . . . . (I:3:125)

Brutus—

How many times shall Caesar bleed in sport
That now on Pompey's basis lies along
No worthier than the dust!
. . . . . (III:1:114)

Antony—

Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
That all the while ran blood. (III:2:192)

There can be no doubt, however, of the poet's intention regarding the existence and intervention of the spirit of Caesar. Any interpretation that views the apparitions of Caesar, perceived by Brutus at Sardis and the night before the battle of Philippi, as subjective hallucinations, is utterly indefensible and tends to break down the dramatic unity of the play. A citation of passages suffices to prove this point:

Brutus—

Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Caius.
We all stand up against the spirit of Caesar;
O! then that we could come by Caesar's spirit,
And not dismember Caesar. But, alas!
Caesar must bleed for it.
. . . . . (II:1:166)

Antony—

If then thy spirit look upon us now,
Shall it not grieve thee dearer than thy death,
To see thy Antony making his peace,
Shaking the bloody fingers of thy foes.
. . . . . (III:1:195)

Antony—

And Caesar's spirit, ranging for revenge,
With Ate by his side come hot from hell,
Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
Cry 'Havoc,' and let slip the dogs of war.
(III:1:270)

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Antony thus invokes the spirit of Caesar, and as a result is infused with a spirit and power that amazes the conspirators. The one whom Brutus scorned as a mere "limb of Caesar," "a reveller, given to sports, to wildness, and much company"[3] becomes transformed into an inspired orator, an able general, and the most powerful agent in procuring the downfall of the cause of the conspirators. The presence of Caesar's avenging spirit is indicated throughout the whole of the scenes following his murder. Bad luck, dissension, and disaster haunt Brutus and Cassius, until they are finally stricken with a sort of panic that hurries them to their doom.

Not only this, but the spirit of Caesar, itself, appears to Brutus, characterizing itself as his "evil spirit":

(Enter the Ghost of Caesar.)

Brutus—
How ill this taper burns! Ha! who comes here?
I think it is the weakness of mine eyes
Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil,
That shapes this monstrous apparition.
It comes upon me. Art thou anything?
That mak'st my blood cold and my hair to stare?
Speak to me what thou art?

Ghost—
Thy evil spirit, Brutus.

Brutus—
Why comest thou?

Ghost—
To tell thee thou shalt see me at Philippi!

Brutus—
Well; then I shall see thee again?

Ghost—
Ay, at Philippi.

Brutus—
Why, I will see thee at Philippi then.
(Ghost vanishes.)
Now I have taken heart thou vanishest:
Ill spirit, I would hold more talk with thee.
Boy, Lucius! Varro! Claudius! Sirs, awake!

. . . . . .

[3] *Julius Caesar*, II:1:165, 188–9.

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Brutus—
Didst thou see anything?
Luc.—
Nothing my lord.
. . . . . (IV:3:275)
Volumnius—
What says my lord?
Brutus—
Why this, Volumnius:
The ghost of Caesar hath appear'd to me
Two several times by night; at Sardis once,
And this last night here at Philippi's fields.
I know my hour is come. (V:5:16)

The failure to obtain a just perspective of the part played by the supernatural in *Julius Caesar* has led to some strange vagaries of criticism. The most noteworthy are those which concern themselves with two details of the play in which the poet deviates radically from the narrative of Plutarch—with the stressing of the infirmities and pettiness of the man Caesar, and the changing of the phantom which appears to Brutus from a "monstrous spirit" to "Caesar's ghost." With regard to the first point Professor Dowden quotes with approval the following passage from Gervinus:

> The poet, if he intended to make the attempt of the republicans his main theme, could not have ventured to create too great an interest in Caesar; it was necessary to keep him in the background, and to present that view of him which gave a reason for the conspiracy.[4]

This interpretation, however, appears far-fetched, and if Caesar's spirit be viewed as a reality, is an assumption hardly justified by the facts of the play. Although the parts of Brutus and Cassius have permitted ambitious actors so to stress their phase of the action, that it has commanded the interest and sympathies of the hearers, it seems that the intention of the play is clear. As has been suggested, we have no reason for assuming that Shakespeare differed so strongly from his age as to deny the fact of the

[4] Dowden, *Shakespeare—His mind and art*, p. 254.

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soul, nor that the soul used the body merely as a temporary dwelling place. Nor does he lead us to infer that great souls always reside in god-like bodies; his own experience in life would effectually disprove that. Therefore, in portraying Caesar as somewhat of a physical weakling, the poet is endeavoring to express the thought that Caesar's spirit was greater than his body, and far more powerful than his enemies foreknew. He was the one man of the time necessary to the unfolding of his nation's evolution, against whom the forces of conservatism fight in vain.

Again Professor Dowden says:

> The ghost of Caesar (designated by Plutarch only the 'evil spirit' of Brutus), which appears on the night before the battle of Philippi, serves as a kind of visible symbol of the vast posthumous power of the dictator.[5]

If this be true, then why the need for changing the apparition from "a monstrous spirit" to the "ghost of Caesar"? Using the argument of the simplest explanation for a phenomenon, is not the interpretation that Shakespeare intended to portray the actual ghost of Caesar not only more true to the situation, but also more effective from the point of view of dramatic art? There is, however, a still more powerful justification of this theory; which is that the whole play represents the transition from the materialistic philosophy to spiritualistic. We know that Caesar and Cassius were Epicureans, the basis of whose philosophy was a denial of all things outside of the sphere of the senses. Yet what do we find in the play? Thus Calpurnia, who seems to have shared Caesar's scepticism, disturbed by her dream and the many omens, says:

> Caesar, I never stood on ceremonies,
> Yet now they fright me. (II:2:13)

Caesar himself is unnerved and, in spite of his large boasts, resolves to absent himself from the senate, thus laying himself open to the taunt of Decius:

[5] Dowden, *Shakespeare—His mind and art*, p. 255.

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'Break up the senate till another time,
When Caesar's wife shall meet with better dreams,'
(II:2:98)

and the scornful comment of Cassius:

But is is doubtful yet
Whether Caesar will come forth today or no;
For he is superstitious grown of late,
Quite from the main opinion he held once
Of fantasy, of dreams, of ceremonies. (II:1:193)

Yet the materialism of Cassius was likewise destined to tremble under the blows of his experience:

Cassius—

Messala,
This is my birth-day; as this very day
Was Cassius born. Give me thy hand, Messala:
Be thou my witness that against my will,
As Pompey was, am I compell'd to set
Upon one battle all our liberties.
You know that I held Epicurus strong,
And his opinion; now I change my mind
And partly credit things that do presage.
Coming from Sardis, on our former ensign
Two mighty eagles fell, and there they perch'd
Gorging and feeding from our soldiers' hands;
Who to Philippi here consorted us:
This morning they are fled away and gone;
And in their stead do ravens, crows and kites
Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us,
As we were sickly prey: their shadows seem
A canopy most fatal, under which
Our army lies, ready to give up the ghost.
(V:I:71)

Brutus, however, was not an Epicurean but a Stoic, and was the son-in-law of Cato the Stoic, from whom Portia, his wife, inherited the quality of fortitude revealed in the play.[6] Brutus condemned Cato as untrue to the Stoic philosophy in committing suicide after the battle of Thapsus, and himself played the Stoic's part most con-

[6] *Julius Caesar*, II:1:291.

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sistently, meeting all things good and evil with a serene and rational spirit. Without a tremor, he killed his best friend for the cause of the state; he so thoroughly concealed his grief for his dead wife, the dearly loved Portia, that Cassius does not suspect it until he is told; and last, but not of least suggestiveness, carried a book in his pocket on the battlefield. Yet this same fatalist is thrown into a panic by a specter, and both he and his wife commit the crime of self-slaughter, which he had deemed impossible according to his philosophy:

Brutus—

Even by the rule of that philosophy
By which I did blame Cato for the death
Which he did give himself; I know not how,
But I do find it cowardly, and vile,
For fear of what might fall, so to prevent
The time of life: arming myself with patience,
To stay the providence of some high powers
That govern us below.

Cassius—

Then if we lose this battle,
You are content to be led in triumph
Through the streets of Rome?

Brutus—

No, Cassius, no: think no, thou noble Roman,
That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome;
He bears too great a mind. But this same day
Must end that work the ides of March begun;
And whether we shall meet again I know not.
Therefore our everlasting farewell take:
For ever and forever, farewell, Cassius!
For if we do meet again, why, we shall smile:
If not, why then, this parting was well made.
(V:1:101)

Thus with the shadow of fate upon them, both went to their self-sought deaths. "Mistrust of good success," says Messala, was the explanation of their failure, but Brutus and Cassius had a different one:

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Cassius—

Guide thou the sword. Caesar, thou art reveng'd,
Even with the sword that killed thee. (*Dies.*)
. . . . . (V:3:46)

Brutus—

Titinius' face is upward.

Cato—

He is slain.

Brutus—

O Julius Caesar! thou art mighty yet!
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords
In our proper entrails.
. . . . . (V:3:96)

Brutus—

Farewell, good Strato. (*He runs on his sword.*)
Caesar now be still;
I kill'd not thee with half so good a will.
(V:5:50)

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II

HAMLET

The story of Julius Caesar appears to have made a powerful impression upon Shakespeare, as references to it are to be found in both *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*[1] and later he reverts to Plutarch and carries the life of Marc Antony to its logical end in *Antony and Cleopatra*. He does not wait so long, however, before occupying himself with the theme of supernatural interference with the concerns of men. It is generally conceded that *Hamlet* was written immediately after *Julius Caesar*, probably between the dates 1600–1602.[2] The source for this play was Belleforests's *Histories tragiques*, which contained the story of *Amleth of Denmark*, taken from the medieval Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus. There was also an earlier version of the play, now lost, referred to in Thomas Nashe's introduction to Green's *Menaphon*, which may have supplied the immediate outline of the play. The earlier versions of the story of *Hamlet*, however, contain little of those elements that render it one of the superlative creations of literature. They are bald recitals of treachery, murder, and revenge attained by shammed insanity. Such materials in the hands of a mediocre talent assume the form of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy;* in the hands of genius, *Hamlet*. Now the most important additions made by Shakespeare are the supernatural elements, the peculiar and elusive personality of the chief character, and finally the marvellous passages so full of wit and wisdom.

In its most important aspect the play is a study of the supernatural, and though the heart of Hamlet's mystery

[1] *Hamlet*, I:1:112; V:1:235; *Macbeth*, III:1:56; V:8:1.

[2] Entered in the Stationer's Register, July 26, 1602.

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may never be plucked out, nevertheless the approach to the play by that route may offer some interesting deductions.

As a study of the supernatural *Hamlet* is the logical sequel to *Julius Caesar,* but it states the problem so clearly and distinctly that it cannot be shuffled aside by any appeal to subjective mental states. In the first place the Ghost of Hamlet's father appears four times: twice to common soldiers of the watch, the third time to Horatio, a sceptical philosopher, and finally to Hamlet himself. The last is the only one of the group who has any of the characteristics of a ghost-seer. In the second place, the Ghost conveys to Hamlet information known only to one person on earth, the guilty Claudius, who esteemed his secret so closely locked within his breast that it could never be disclosed. It is true that Hamlet suspected his uncle's guilt, yet the grounds for his suspicions were so slight that, barring his mother's hasty marriage,[3] he could find no justification for them:

> O most wicked speed, to post
> With such dexterity to incestuous sheets!
> It is not, nor it cannot come to good:
> But break my heart, for I must hold my tongue.
> (I:2:156)

The news, however, that a specter appareled like his dead father had been seen, gave these suspicions yet more force:

> My father's spirit in arms! all is not well;
> I doubt some foul play: would the night were come!
> Till then sit still, my soul: foul deed will rise,
> Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes.
> (I:2:255)

Nevertheless Hamlet's intuitions regarding his uncle do not invalidate the point that the ghost brought Hamlet information no one else knew, or could know, save the King.

[3] *Hamlet,* I:2:137.

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Furthermore the apparition conforms in all respects to the traditional characteristics of a spirit or supernatural being. It appears at the witching hour of midnight, and vanishes at the approach of dawn; it cannot be injured by blows; and, as revealed by its speech to Hamlet, it has a powerful reason for its return to Elsinore, the quest for revenge:

Marcellus—

Horatio says 'tis but our fantasy,
And will not let belief take hold of him
Touching this dreaded sight, twice seen of us.

. . . . . .

Bernardo—

Last night of all,
When yond same star that's westward from the pole
Had made his course to illumine that part of heaven
Where now it burns, Marcellus and myself,
The bell then beating one,——

(*Enter Ghost.*)

Marcellus—

Peace! break thee off; look, where it comes again!

. . . . . .

Marcellus—

Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio.

. . . . . .

Horatio—

What art thou that usurp'st this time of night,
Together with that fair and warlike form
In which the majesty of buried Denmark
Did sometimes march? by heaven I charge thee speak.

Marcellus—

It is offended.

. . . . . .

Bernardo—

How now, Horatio! you tremble and look pale:
Is not his something more than fantasy?
What think you on't?

Horatio—

Before my God, I might not this believe
Without the sensible and true avouch
Of mine own eyes. (I:1:23)

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The Ghost disappears at the crowing of the cock; the dawn:

Bernardo—
It was about to speak when the cock crew.

Horatio—
And then it started like a guilty thing
Upon a fearful summons. I have heard
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day; and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
The extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine; and of the truth herein
The present object made probation.

Marcellus—
It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Savior's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long;
And then, they say, no spirit dare stir abroad;
The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

Horatio—
So I have heard and do in part believe it.
(I:1:148)

It was the medieval belief that those who met sudden death unblessed by the church, even though virtuous people, were forced to spend a period of purgatorial torment:

Hamlet—
He took my father grossly, full of bread,
With all his crimes broad-blown, as flush as May;
And how his audit stands who knows save heaven?
(III:3:80)

Ghost—
My hour is almost come
When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames
Must render up myself.
. . . . . .

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I am thy father's spirit;
Doomed for a certain time to walk the night,
And for the day confin'd to fast in fires,
Until the foul crimes done in my days of nature
Are burn't and purg'd away. But that I am forbid

. . . . . .

I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul. . . .

. . . . . .

Hamlet—
O God!

Ghost—
Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

. . . . . .

Hamlet—
O my prophetic soul!
My uncle!

. . . . . .

Ghost—
But, soft! methinks I scent the morning air;
Brief let me be.

. . . . . .

Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand,
Of life, of crown, of queen, at once dispatch'd;
Cut off in the blossoms of my sin,
Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd,
No reckoning made, but sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head.

(I:5:3)

That it is an incorporeal being, and not some person masquing as a spirit, is made clear by the passage:

Horatio—
Stop it, Marcellus.

Marcellus—
Shall I strike at it with my partisan?

Horatio—
Do, if it will not stand.

Bernardo— 'Tis here!

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Horatio— 'Tis here! (*Exit Ghost.*)

Marcellus—

'Tis gone!
We do it wrong, being so majestical,
To offer it the show of violence;
For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
And all our vain blows malicious mockery.

Bernardo—

It was about to speak when the cock crew.
(I:1:139)

If these passages, therefore, be interpreted according to their manifest signification, they can only mean that the poet presents, here, as a character in a play, a visitant from the supernatural world; a spirit that has consciousness and self-direction, coming from a definite, but decidedly uncomfortable place, and with a distinct purpose in view. This purpose, furthermore, is ignoble; that of revenge. The crime of Claudius, so hideous in its conception and execution, tends to cause an ignoring of the fact that Hamlet's father as a living man had not been free from human sins. We know that he was courageous, but high-tempered:

So frown'd he once, when in an angry parle,
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.
(I:1:62)

He had "An eye like Mars to threaten or command";[4] he was sent to his account unshriven, with all his imperfections on his head, guilty of "foul crimes done in my days of nature";[5] and he returns from purgatorial flames to balance one crime by inciting the commission of another. It is not incredible that the poet believed God's laws to be as valid for the supernatural world as for the natural, and that the *lex talionis,* or law of blood revenge, was a substitution of a finite "kind of wild justice" for divine justice.

[4] *Hamlet,* III:4:57.

[5] *Hamlet,* III:3:80; I:5:10.

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It was the universal belief of the medieval times that spirits or ethereal beings could rarely achieve results in the physical world by direct agency; the theory being that they acted mainly through the medium of some human being, whose peculiar physical or mental constitution rendered him subject to such supernatural solicitings. It is, in short, the phenomenon of mediumship or possession; a belief which goes back to the dawn of religions. In this connection, a contemporary opinion in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy (A digression of the nature of spirits)* is illuminating. Speaking of the power of a spirit over an individual who is subject to supernatural influences, he says:

> Many think he can worke upon the body but not upon the minde. But experience pronounceth otherwise, that he can worke both upon body and minde [6]

Again in Le Loyer's *Treatise of Specters* (1605) the following passages are to be found:

> There is not any of the corporall senses, but the divell may possesse the same, and use it at his pleasure, if God do permit him.[7]
>
> The divell dooth cast himself also into the inward and interiour senses, and into the fantasie of men, and mooveth them in the same sorte as he doothe the externall: and by certayne extasie and alienation of their spirites which he causeth; he maketh diverse formes, specters, and phantosms to appear in their imaginations: the which at such times as they awake from sleepe, will so lively represent themselves to the externall senses, that a man cannot be otherwise perswaded, but that he hath truly and indeede seen them.[8]

Who are the ones most subject to supernatural influences? These authorities discuss this point at length, and both agree that melancholy may be favorable to the condition of possession:

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[6] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3d ed., p. 49.

[7] Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Specters*, p. 124 (verso). Cf. King James, *Daemonologie*. Glanvil, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, pt. 2.

[8] Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Specters*, p. 124 (verso).

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This humour of Melancholy is called Balneum Dioboli, the Divels bath: the Divell spying his opportunity of such humours, drives them many times to despaire, fury, rage, etc., mingling himself amongst those humours.[9]

So, if the Divell doe once perceive that the braine is troubled or offended by any maladies or infirmities which are particularly incident thereunto: as the Epilepsie, or falling evil, Madnesse, Melancholy, Lunatique, fittes, and other such like passions: He presently taketh occasion to torment and trouble it the more.[10]

In seeking for an explanation for the many contradictions in the portrayal of the character of Hamlet, one of the first solutions in Shakespeare's day would have been possession. Modern criticism of the play, however, does not offer this as an explanation at all, so thoroughly has the attitude of thought changed since the time of Elizabeth and James.

In what way does the development of the character agree with this hypothesis? In the first place, what was Hamlet during his father's life? We know that he was a scholar and a student at the University of Wittenberg,[11] Luther's school; a center of genuine learning, not of riot like that of Paris.[12] From Ophelia's lips we learn of him as the world saw him:

Ophelia—

O! what a noble mind is here o'erthrown;
The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword;
The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
The observ'd of all observers, quite, quite down!
And I, of ladies most deject and wretched,
That suck'd the honey of his music vows,
Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh,
The unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth
Blasted with ecstacy. (III:1:158)

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[9] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3d ed., p. 49.

[10] Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Specters*, p. 132 (verso).

[11] *Hamlet*, I:2:164; I:2:112.

[12] Villon, *Oeuvres*. Introduction by Longnon. (Paris, 1892). Laurie, *Rise and Constitution of the Universities*. (N. Y., 1891).

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The crude psychology of Shakespeare's age divided people into different dispositions, or "humours," and it was not unusual for writers to give representations of certain of these "humours" in characters. That Jonson did this we know, as does Shakespeare, very clearly, in *As You Like It*. In this play we discover the affectation of "humours" in Jacques, and the man genuinely so afflicted in the usurping Duke Frederick. One of these, indeed, according to Burton and other contemporary writers, the source of nearly all the destructive "humours" is melancholy. The story of Burton's own life and work is, furthermore, a most illuminating commentary on the character of Hamlet. It is evident that back of the glister and amazing creative activity of the Renaissance brooded a depth of seriousness, world-weariness and fear of the unknown that we can never fathom; glimpses of which, however, have been given us in Dürer's engraving, *Melencolia*, and the numerous examples of the Danse Macabre.

Hamlet is afflicted by melancholy; he says so, and the others say so:

King—
How is it that the clouds still hang on you?
. . . . . .
Hamlet—
'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother,
Nor customary suits of solemn black,
Nor windy suspiration of forc'd breath,
No, nor the fruitful river in the eye,
. . . . . .
That can denote me truly; these indeed seem,
For they are actions that a man might play:
But I have that within which passeth show;
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.
(I:2:67)

The King says to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern when he sets them to spy on Hamlet:

King—
The need we have to use you did provoke
Our hasty sending. Something have you heard

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> Of Hamlet's transformation; so I call it,
> Sith nor the exterior nor the inward man
> Resembles that it was. What it should be
> More than his father's death, that thus hath put him
> So much from the understanding of himself,
> I cannot dream of. (II:2:3)

Hamlet intuitively perceives the mission of these spies, yet to them he unfolds still more concerning the state of his mind, letting no hint fall, however, regarding the Ghost:

> *Hamlet*—
> What have you, my good friends, deserved at the hands of Fortune, that she sends you to prison hither?
> *Guildenstern*—
> Prison, my lord!
> *Hamlet*—
> Denmark's a prison.
> *Rosencrants*—
> Then is the world one.
> *Hamlet*—
> A goodly one; in which there are many confines, wards, and dungeons, Denmark being one o' the worst.
> *Rosencrantz*—
> We think not so, my lord.
> *Hamlet*—
> Why, then, 'tis none to you; for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so; to me it is a prison.

Further he says:

> *Hamlet*—
> I have of late, but wherefore I know not,—lost all my mirth, foregone all custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to be a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other to me but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours: What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form, in moving, how express and admirable! in action how like

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> an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is the quintessence of dust? Man delights not me; no, nor woman neither.
>
> (II:2:245)

Life has grown so distasteful to him that he has constant incitements to suicide:

> *Hamlet*—
>
> O! that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
> Thaw and resolve itself into a dew!
> Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! O God! God!
> How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seems to me all the uses of this world.
> Fie on't! Ah fie! 'tis an unweeded garden,
> That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
> Possess it merely. (I:2:129)
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Polonius*—
>
> My honourable lord, I will most humbly take leave of you.
>
> *Hamlet*—
>
> You cannot, sir, take from me anything that I will more willingly part withal; except my life, except my life.
>
> (II:2:217)

As has been suggested, comparison of *Hamlet* with its sources reveals that the important modifications Shakespeare has made are the introduction of the Ghost, and the peculiar disposition of his hero. The differences between Belleforest's translation of Bandello's tale and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* are so remarkable that they cannot be explained by any theory save that of direct intention on the part of the poet. That he could follow his sources slavishly is well known; in fact, as in the case of Plutarch, when he found the material in acceptable dramatic form he did not deem it necessary to make extensive modifications in the narrative. When such modifications, however, are made, a definite dramatic purpose underlies such changes. Belleforest's Hamlet is a typical character of a bloodthirsty age, who feigns madness to keep from being sent to join

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his father in the land of shades. He knows, as does his mother, that his uncle murdered his father; he avenges his father's death in a direct and bloody manner; and in the end comes back from England with two wives. The only passage in Belleforest that refers to the supernatural is, nevertheless, very significant:

> Hamlet, while his father lived had been instructed in that devilish art, whereby the wicked spirite abuseth man-kind, and advertiseth him (as he can) of things past. It toucheth not the matter herein to discover the part of devination in man, and whether this prince by reason of his over great melancholy, had received those impressions, devining that, which never any but himself had before declared, like the Philosophers, who discoursing of divers deep points of philosophie, attribute the force of those devinations to such as are Saturnists by complection who, oftimes speake of things which their fury ceasing, they then alreadye can hardly understand who are the pronouncers, and for that cause Plato saith, many deviners and many poets, after the force and vigour of their fier beginneth to lessen, do hardly understand what they have written, although intreating of such things, while the spirite of devination continueth upon them, they doe in such sort discourse thereof that the authors and the inventers of the arts themselves by them alledged commend their discourses and subtill disputations. Likewise I mean not to relate that which divers men beleeve that a reasonable soul, becommeth the habitation of a meaner sort or divels, by whom men learn the secrets of things natural.[18]

These crude hints of the supernatural, contained in the sources of *Hamlet*, could not be portrayed upon the stage sucessfully, without great modification. Shakespeare's problem was therefore either to eliminate them entirely, or to deepen them, as he did in *Julius Caesar*, rendering them more concrete and objective. It was his intention, however, to concern himself "with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls," and he could do this only by strengthening the element of the supernatural, and this end is attained by the introduction of the Ghost. Accepting this

[18] Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, vol. 2, *Historie of Hamblet*, p. 249.

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view, how does the development of both the play and of the character conform to it?

In the first place it absolutely destroys the theory that Hamlet was insane. His mind, indeed, was "not tainted" or organically diseased, yet it was subject to strange exaltations, despondencies, intuitions, and rashnesses that were assumed to be characteristic of people under supernatural spell or domination. Consider Hamlet mad, and the whole moral idea of the play is lost with his loss of self-direction, and the production, as a whole, becomes the quintessence of irrationality. We have, therefore the portrayal of the struggle of two wills: that of Hamlet himself, and that of the Ghost which is continually exerted upon him; not to speak of Hamlet's objective collision with a social order with which he had few affiliations.

When Hamlet is met by Horatio, who is coming to inform him of the appearance of the apparition, he gives the latter a start by suddenly exclaiming:

Hamlet—
My father, methinks I see my father.

Horatio—
O! where, my lord?

Hamlet—
In my mind's eye, Horatio.
(I:2:184)

In this way it would seem that the poet means to suggest that the influence of his father's spirit was already being exerted upon Hamlet's spiritual senses, which is further corroborated by the passage at the end of the same scene:

Hamlet—
My father's spirit in arms! all is not well:
I doubt some foul play: would the night were come!
Till then sit still, my soul: foul deeds will rise,
Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes.
(I:2:25)

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Also by Hamlet's speech after the Ghost's revelations:

Ghost—
The serpent that did sting thy father's life now wears his crown.
Hamlet—
O my prophetic soul!
My uncle! (I:5:38)

Hamlet cross-questioned Horatio and the soldiers, and discovered that they were telling the truth, after which he exacted a promise that they would not speak of their experience, saying:

If it assume my noble father's person
I'll speak to it, though hell itself should gape
And bid me hold my peace. (I:2:244)

When Hamlet encounters the Ghost it refuses to speak, or cannot, until he is apart from the others, and they attempt to dissuade him from following it:

Marcellus—
Do not go with it.
Horatio—
No, by no means.
Hamlet—
It will not speak; then will I follow it.
Horatio—
Do not, my lord.
Hamlet—
Why, what should be the fear?
I do not set my life at a pin's fee;
And for my soul, what can it do to that,
Being a thing immortal as itself?
It waves me forth again; I'll follow it.
Horatio—
What if it tempt you toward the flood, my lord,
Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff
That beetles o'er his base into the sea,
And there assume some other horrible form,
Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason,
And draw you into madness? . . .
. . . . . .

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Hamlet—

It waves me still.
Go on, I'll follow thee.

Marcellus—

You shall not go, my lord.

Hamlet—

Hold off your hands!

Horatio—

Be rul'd; you shall not go.

Hamlet—

My fate cries out,
And makes each petty artery in this body
As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerves.
(*Ghost beckons.*)
Still am I call'd. Unhand me, gentlemen,
(*Breaking from them.*)
By heaven! I'll make a ghost of him that lets me:
I say, away! Go on, I'll follow thee.
(*Exeunt Ghost and Hamlet.*)

Horatio—

He waxes desperate with imagination.

Marcellus—

Let's follow; 'tis not fit thus to obey him.
(I:4:62)

After his interview with the Ghost Hamlet shows all the symptoms of madness, speaking "wild and whirling words," but finally calms down enough to make his companions swear a solemn, threefold oath, in which the Ghost takes part, invisible, but audible. Hamlet knows, too, that henceforth he is a changed man, and for fear lest they may reveal the cause of his actions, he warns them:

Hamlet—

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.
But come;
Here, as before, never, so help you mercy,
How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,
As I perchance hereafter shall think meet
To put an antic disposition on,

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That you at such times, seeing me, never shall,
With arms encumber'd thus, or this head shake,

. . . . . .

Or such ambiguous giving out, to note
That you know aught of me; this not to do,
So grace and mercy at your most need help you,
Swear.

Ghost (*beneath*)— Swear. (*They swear.*)

Hamlet—

Rest, rest perturbed spirit. (I:5:166)

There seems to be no escape from the inference that Shakespeare was endeavoring to portray a ghost-seer, or, in modern terms, a spiritualistic medium, in Hamlet. Throughout the play the characterization is consistent with this interpretation. Thus we find at the very beginning, the melancholy, or negative state, that is said to induce such a condition; clairvoyance; clairaudience; and those strange alterations of mental aberration and sanity that have been the immemorial marks of the psychic.

How does this hypothesis agree with Hamlet's strange moods; his times of inaction and lethargy, and his bursts of violent activity that overleap themselves? In the first place, the influence of the Ghost upon his personality is not always direct, for during the day he is "confin'd to fast in fires." It is noteworthy therefore that the only time it reappears in the play is at midnight, when Hamlet at the interview with his mother so forgets himself in his words to her that he breaks the promise to leave her "to heaven and to those thorns that in her bosom lodge."

Hamlet—

'Tis now the very witching time of night,
When churchyards yawn, and hell itself breathes out
Contagion to this world: now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on. Soft! now to my mother,
O heart! lose not thy nature; let not ever
The soul of Nero enter this firm bosom;

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> Let me be cruel but not unnatural;
> I will speak daggers to her, but use none.
> My tongue and soul in this be hypocrites;
> Now in my words soever she be shent,
> To give them seals never, my soul consent!
> (III:2:406)

He thus perceives the danger lest he work himself into a frenzy and do his mother harm, which indeed was the very thing that threatened when the Ghost made himself visible.

> (*Enter Ghost.*)
> *Hamlet*—
> Save me, and hover o'er me with your wings,
> You heavenly guards! What would your gracious figure?
> *Queen*—
> Alas! he's mad! (III:4:103)

The Queen could not see the Ghost, either because her nature was too material to sense such visitations, or because the Ghost did not choose to reveal himself to her (which power, it was held, they possessed) hence she assumed that her son had suddenly become insane. He hastens to assure her he is not, asks her to test him, and finally exclaims:

> Mother, for love of grace,
> Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
> That not your trespass, but my madness speaks.
> (III:4:144)

Nevertheless, whether the spirit of Hamlet's father was with him unceasingly, the influence or spell was never away, and apparently he acquired abnormal psychic or intuitional powers. He perceives the plots of the King against him; informs Rosencrantz and Guildenstern of the secret purpose of their mission; tells his mother that he is to be sent to England, before he has been notified of the fact; and when the announcement is made expresses no astonishment:

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King—
Hamlet, this deed for thine especial safety
Which we do tender, as we dearly grieve
For that for which thou hast done, must send thee hence
With fiery quickness: therefore prepare thyself;
The bark is ready, and the wind at help,
The associates tend, and everything is bent
For England.

Hamlet—
For England.

King—
Ay, Hamlet

Hamlet—
Good.

King—
So is it, if thou knew'st our purposes.

Hamlet—
I see a cherub that sees them.
. . . . . (IV:3:42)

Hamlet—
Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting,
That would not let me sleep: methought I lay
Worse than the mutines in the bilboes. Rashly,
And praised be rashness for it, let us know,
Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do pall: and that should teach us
There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will. (V:2:4)

From the moment of his interview with the Ghost there was no question in his mind of its reality, yet there was another question that must be settled: was the spirit an evil or a good one?

Hamlet—
The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil: and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and melancholy
As he is very potent with such spirits
Abuses me to damn me. I'll have grounds
More relative than this: the play's the thing
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King.
. . . . . (II:2:627)

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Hamlet—

I have heard,
That guilty creatures sitting at a play
Have by the very cunning of the scene
Been struck so to the soul that presently
They have proclaim'd their malefactions;
For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
With most miraculous organ. I'll have these players,
Play something ox the murder of my father
Before mine uncle: I'll observe his looks;
I'll tent him to the quick; if he but blench,
I'll know my course. (II:2:618)

It is therefore for two purposes that the poet introduces the episode of the players (a thing utterly foreign to the original sources of the play): to force the King to self-revelation of his crime, and at the same time to prove that the Ghost was not a lying spirit. Hamlet fears lest his suspicions and all of the strange occurrences may be but monstrous errors, based upon no more solid foundation than the wicked speed shown by his mother in posting to incestuous sheets. He tells Horatio, therefore, to watch the King during the play, explaining:

If his occulted guilt
Do not itself unkennel in one speech,
It is a damned ghost that we have seen,
And my imaginations are as foul
As Vulcan's stithy. (III:2:88)

The result, however, was just what he anticipated, the King reveals his guilt, and is thrown into a state of panic and remorse;[14] and Hamlet becomes hysterical, again full of "wild and whirling words":

Hamlet—
For thou dost know, O Damon dear,
This realm dismantled was
Of Jove, himself; and now reigns here
A very, very—pajock.

[14] *Hamlet*, III:3:36.

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Horatio—
You might have rimed.
Hamlet—
O good Horatio! I'll take the ghost's word
For a thousand pound. Didst perceive?
Horatio—
Very well, my lord.
Hamlet—
Upon the talk of the poisoning?
Horatio—
I did very well note him.
Hamlet—
Ah, ha! Come some music! come the recorders!
For if the King likes not the comedy,
Why then, belike he likes it not, perdy.
(III:2:292)

It is not within the province of this discussion to follow all of the implications of this theory of *Hamlet*. It should be pointed out, however, that Hamlet was unfitted by temperament and training for the task thus supernaturally thrust upon him. It is reasonable to assume that a man who was disgusted with the swinish habits[15] of the court and the people in general, would have been disinclined to play private executioner in a blood feud, however much he or his had been wronged. His high ethical standards, his philosophy, his love for the beautiful in art, music, the drama, and life itself, all rebelled against this unceasing pressure upon his soul exerted by a being in the world of shades. Thus results that flux of activity and inactivity that makes up the play of *Hamlet*. And in the end, all of his plans for revenge come to naught; for accident, chance, or the working of some higher law, interfered, and precipitated the final catastrophe, in which the King, the Queen, Laertes and Hamlet are swept to the beyond in a carnival of death. It is only by Hamlet's dying hand that Horatio is prevented from sharing their fate, Hamlet imploring him to "absent him from felicity awhile," and the reason:

[15] *Hamlet*, I:4:13.

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> **O good Horatio, what a wounded name,**
> **Things standing thus unknown shall live behind me!**
> **If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,**
> **Absent thee from felicity awhile,**
> **And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,**
> **To tell my story.** **(V:2:355)**

Now the story Horatio could tell was that of the Ghost and its revelation of the guilt of the King. Both *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* are tracts illustrative of the dangers of subjecting one's soul to the control of the spirits of the vasty deep, and the theme of the former is, after all, "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

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III

MACBETH

When the plays of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* are compared, an interesting distinction is observed in the use of the supernatural. In the former we find the hero powerfully acted upon by metaphysical influences, yet mainly against his own will and personal tendencies. The play in its deepest sense, is the picture of a soul torn by dual tendencies: the good being his own natural nobility; the evil the incitements of the Ghost to revenge and murder. Hamlet, himself, seems to have foreseen what was in store for him when he said:

> **The time is out of joint; O cursed spite,**
> **That ever I was born to set it right.**
> (*Hamlet*, I:4:189)

In *Macbeth*, however, we find the hero, after a few hesitations and struggles with his better self, welcoming supernatural evil represented in the form of the Weird Sisters. Macbeth, like Hamlet, is a ghost-seer. He becomes entranced at the words of the witches (*Banquo*—"Look, how our partner's rapt");[1] he is highly imaginative and indulges in extravagant flights of poetic rhapsody; he has hallucinations of "air-drawn daggers"; and he can see the specter of murdered Banquo. Furthermore, in the case of Macbeth, there is another distinction, and one that has an important bearing upon the development of the play as a whole. This is the fact that there was something in Macbeth's soul that linked him with the powers of evil before they prophesied to him. This is not stressed, yet it is there, and a careful reading will reveal it.

[1] *Macbeth*, I:3:142.

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One of the means by which this link is indicated is by the words on Macbeth's lips as he first appears upon the scene:

> **So foul and fair a day I have not seen. (I:3:38)**

These are but an echo of the rune of the witches in the first scene:

> **Fair is foul, and foul is fair.**
> **Hover through the fog and filthy air.**

Thus early in the play is its dominant note sounded, which rings throughout the whole action—a veritable *leit motiv* of doom:

> ***Banquo—***
> **Good sir, why do you start, and seem to fear**
> **Things that do sound so fair?**
> **. . . . . (I:3:51)**
>
> ***Banquo—***
> **But 'tis strange:**
> **And oftimes to win us to our harm,**
> **The instruments of darkness tell us truths,**
> **Win us with honest trifles to betray's**
> **In deepest consequence.**
> **. . . . . (I:3:122)**
>
> ***Macbeth—***
> **(*Aside.*) Come what come may**
> **Time and hour runs through the roughest day.**
> **. . . . . (I:3:146)**
>
> ***Duncan—***
> **There's no art**
> **To find the mind's construction in the face.**
> **. . . . . (I:4:11)**
>
> ***Lady Macbeth—***
> **Look like the innocent flower,**
> **But be the serpent under't.**
> **. . . . . (I:5:66)**
>
> ***Macbeth—***
> **Away, and mock the time with fairest show:**
> **False face must hide what false heart doth know.**
> **. . . . . (I:7:81)**

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Donalbain—

There's daggers in men's smiles.
. . . . . (II:3:146)

Banquo—

Thou hast it now: King, Cawdor, Glamis, all,
As the weird women promis'd, and I fear
Thou play'dst most foully for't.
. . . . . (III:1:1)

Lady Macbeth—

Gentle my lord, sleek o'er your rugged looks;
Be bright and jovial among your guests tonight.
. . . . . (III:2:27)

Macbeth—

And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
That palter with us in a double sense;
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
To break it to our hope. (V:8:19)

In a larger sense these significant passages are reiterated in the action of the play. Duncan, thus, on entering the portals of Macbeth's castle, from which he will never go forth alive, says:

This castle hath a pleasant seat; the air
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses. (I:6:1)

To which Banquo adds those lines so full of peace and exquisite beauty.

This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve
By his loved mansionry that the heaven's breath
Smells wooingly here: no jutty, frieze,
Buttress, nor coigne of vantage, but this bird
Hath made his pendent bed and procreant cradle;
Where they most breed and haunt, I have observed
The air is delicate. (I:6:3)

Again, after Lady Macbeth had planned his death, and made invocation to the "spirits that tend on mortal thoughts" to unsex her and make her one of them, the better to commit the deed, we find Duncan saying:

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> Fair and noble hostess,
> We are your guests tonight. (I:6:24)

In the fourth act the principle is reversed, for in this, Malcolm, in order to test Macduff, is discovered concealing his real self, claiming that he is a demon worse than Macbeth:

> Nay, had I the power, I should
> Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
> Uproar the universal peace, confound
> All unity on earth. (IV:3:97)

Malcolm, in thus giving the obverse of his true character, defines in no uncertain words precisely what Macbeth is, and what he has done. In this play, therefore, we are assured that the poet is concerned with that deepest of human problems, the origin and existence of evil in the world. He had touched upon this question in its manifold forms in the earlier plays, and his general attitude at the time of their composition appears to be summed up in the words of King Henry V:

> There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distil it out,
> (*Henry V*, IV:1:4)

and in the speech of Friar Lawrence:

> For nought so vile that on earth doth live,
> But to the earth some special good doth give.
> (*Romeo and Juliet*, II:3:17)

It is true that he had depicted villains like Angelo in *Measure for Measure*, or *Richard III*, but the portrayal of the former is objective and perfunctory, and, as for the latter, there is some justification for his villainy; he had been schooled into it by his enemies. Furthermore Richard was a fairly faithful reproduction of the ancient enemy of the Tudors as set forth by the chroniclers. In *Macbeth*, on the contrary, we are face to face with the fact of evil itself, and have revealed to us by a series of powerfully symbolic pictures the disintegration of a human soul.

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To understand the deeper implications of *Macbeth,* it is necessary to refer to the sources of the play in order to determine just what modifications have been made by the playwright. The original story of Macbeth was narrated by Hector Boece in his *Scotorum Historiae* (1526), whose account Holinshed used in his *Chronicles of England and Scotland* (1587)—the treasure-house of the Elizabethan dramatists. Macbeth, according to Holinshed, was a cousin of the King and had an equal title to the throne: both Duncan and he being grandsons of King Malcolm's sister, Beatrice. The crown, however, was given to "soft and gentle" Duncan, being denied to Macbeth who was brave, but cruel. Although the Weird Sisters are found in the source of the play they have few of the characteristics of Macbeth's witches; nor is Hecate, the queen of hell, introduced. The character of Banquo, likewise undergoes a radical modification, whereas in Holinshed he is portrayed as an accessory of Macbeth in the murder of Duncan, in the play he refuses to act upon the incitements of the witches. The appearance of Banquo's ghost, and the supernaturalism found in the fourth act are wholly foreign to the original source of the tragedy.

The question arises, why these changes? We know that the poet, as in the case of Plutarch's Caesar, when he saw fit, could adhere almost slavishly to the text. Furthermore, a study of the use of his sources reveals that he usually had a definite purpose in view when he made any change.

The first impression we receive of Macbeth is that of a hero and the savior of a state fallen into disunion under the rule of a good but weak king. Nevertheless the day of success, fair though it appear for Macbeth, carries in its bosom the hour of fatal choice for the victor. The moment of triumph, one would therefore infer, is more dangerous than that of defeat, for there are standing in the pathway of each man in the hour of success, evil fates beckoning him to destruction, granting of course that there is some taint, defect or subtle bond that unites him with the powers of evil.

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Although it is not stressed, in the play, the existence of such defect is clearly indicated. Macbeth's first words, as has been suggested, echo those of the witch. When the prophecies are spoken, Macbeth's start, his momentary trance-like condition, and finally his own soliloquy, reveal how fertile is the soil into which fall the words of the witches. He is theirs already, and they know it. The poet has carefully avoided, in the first scenes of the play, stressing the defect of cruelty which had caused the historical Macbeth to lose the crown, yet he did not wholly eliminate it. His artistic dilemma, of course, was to create a certain sympathy with the protagonist, and yet to prevent the play from being a treatise in fatalism, which would have been the case had Macbeth been merely a good man led astray by supernatural solicitations. There is a bond that connects Macbeth with the "lower-half-world," and the poet reveals its gradual strengthening, until it is beyond his power to break.

Shakespeare, with exception perhaps of Iago, has never created a total villain; a fiend in human form. Even Edmund, the bastard in *Lear,* repented his wickedness at the last, but not Iago, who meets his death with the words "Demand me nothing: what you know, you know." In life, as the poet perceived, men and women contain in their hearts the seeds of good and evil; either of which may be nourished and brought to flowering by the individual himself. Of the possibilities of evil he may be totally unconscious until the hour of temptation comes. In view of this fact, how luminous with respect to Macbeth, therefore, are words of Hamlet:

> So, oft it chances in particular men,
> For some vicious mole of nature in them,
> As, in their birth,—wherein they are not guilty,
> Since nature cannot choose its origin,—
> By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,
> Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,
> Or by some habit that too much o'er-leavens
> The form of plausive manners; that these men,

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> Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
> Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,—
> Their virtues else,—be they pure as grace,
> As infinite as man may undergo,—
> Shall in the general censure take corruption
> From that particular fault.
>
> (*Hamlet*, I:4:23)

This is the poet's commentary on the character of Macbeth, and in the development of the drama he reveals the forces that bring one type of such individuals to a tragic end.

The problems of the whole play of *Macbeth* center in the Weird Sisters, and Macbeth's relation to them. In the first place there are great differences between the Norn-like creatures of Boece and Holinshed, and the witches of Macbeth. In the original sources they are called "feiries or weird sisters,"[2] and these have none of the disgusting or abnormal attributes of the witches in *Macbeth*. Externally the latter are merely the witch-hags of the country side traditions. They are not only "wild in attire," but "wither'd" as well,[3] with "skinny lips and bearded chins," suggestive of sexlessness. They have familiar spirits in Graymalkin, the cat, Paddock, the frog, and Harpier, the dog. The first scene of the fourth act is a portrayal of a Witches' Sabbath with its foul orgies, its brewing of hell-broth, and its loathsome incantations:

> *1st Witch*—
> Thrice the brinded cat hath mew'd.
>
> *2d Witch*—
> Thrice and once the hedg-pig whined.
>
> *3d Witch*—
> Harpier cries 'Tis time, 'tis time!

[2] "There met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world. Goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries."—Holinshed's *Chronicle of Scotland*. (1577).

[3] *Macbeth*, I:3:40.

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1st Witch—

Round about the cauldron go:
In the poison'd entrails throw
Toad that under cold stone
Days and nights has thirty-one
Swelter'd venom sleeping got
. . . . . .
Fillet of a fenny snake
. . . . . .
Eye of newt and toe of frog,
Wool of bat and tongue of dog,
Adder's fork and blind-worm's sting,
Lizard's leg and howlet's wing.
. . . . . .
Witche's mummy, maw and gulf
Of the ravin'd salt-sea shark,
Root of hemlock digg'd i' the dark,
Liver of blaspheming Jew,
Gall of goat and slips of yew
. . . . . .
Nose of Turk and Tartar's lips,
Finger of new-strangled babe
Ditch-deliver'd by a drab,
Make the gruel think and slab:
Add thereto a tiger's chaudron,
For the ingredients of our cauldron.

All—

Double, double toil and trouble
Fire burn and cauldron bubble. (IV:1:1)

In the first act (Scene 3) the petty maliciousness of the traditional witch is indicated.[4] One has been killing a farmer's swine; another:

A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap,
And mounch'd and mounch'd, and mounch'd.
'Give me,' quoth I:
'Aroint thee, witch!' the rump-fed ronyon cries.
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the Tiger:

[4] Lathbury, *A detection of damnable drifts practised by three witches*, etc. (1579).

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> But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
> And like a rat without a tail,
> I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do. (I:3:4)

They are thus portrayed as things of evil, but of petty evil, anything rather than nymphs or goddesses of destiny. Their element is the hurly-burly, the thunder, lightning and other destructive forces of nature, and over these they have some power which they use to injure those who have incurred their hatred. King James, himself, ascribed his tempestuous voyage from Denmark with his bride, Princess Anne, to witches, and personally presided at the trial and torture of a number of unfortunate men and women who were accused of raising these storms by devilish practices.[5]

This power is alluded to when the first witch says:

> *1st Witch*—
> I'll give thee a wind.
> *2d Witch*—
> Thou art kind.
> *3d Witch*—
> And I another.
> *1st Witch*—
> And I have all the other;
> And the very ports they blow,
> All the quarters that they know
> I' the Shipman's card
> . . . . . .
> Though his bark cannot be lost,
> Yet it shall be tempest tost. (I:3:11)

They are "posters of the sea and land" and travel with incredible swiftness on their abominable missions; they can sail the seas in sieves; can change their shapes at will into tailless rats or other foul creatures; cause men and women to pine away by their spells; and can vanish like bubbles into the air.[6]

[5] *News from Scotland: Declaring the damnable life of Dr. Fian.*
[6] *Macbeth*, I:3:79. Cf. King James, *Daemonologie.*

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There are traces, however, of the Norns in the Witches of *Macbeth*. They are three in number, like the Fates; the first voices the past ("Hail to thee, thane of Glamis!"); the second, the present ("Hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!") and the third, the future ("Thou shalt be King hereafter!"). Furthermore, that they are divinities of evil is shown by the introduction of Hecate, the Queen of Hell, to whom they apparently act as aides, and are reprimanded when they endeavor to mislead men without consulting her.[7]

The introduction of the character of Hecate has been criticized by many students of Shakespeare, and by some ascribed to other hands than those of the creator of the play,[8] yet if his conception of Hecate, as revealed by allusions in various plays,[9] be considered there can hardly be any question but that the character was introduced by Shakespeare and plays a necessary part in the drama. If the witches, themselves, as the descendants from the Norns of Teutonic myth have a distinguished lineage, the Hecate of medieval demonology has a still nobler ancestry. At first as great Diana (Artemis), she was the Moon-queen of the heavens; then as Demeter or Ceres, she was the goddess of fecundation and growth. Now as growth, or life, also has its complement or corollary of death, Demeter had her negative phase as developed in the mythus of Persephone, who, for the half-year (winter or death) becomes the queen of the realm of Pluto or Dis. Hence the medieval iconoclasts, who transmuted all the pagan deities into devils, perceiving that Hecate was already, in some of her aspects, the feminine expression of the mysteries of night, of winter and of death, made her therefore the complement of Satan, and the queen of all things dark and evil. These composite elements tended to make her the patron deity of witchcraft and all occult and secret practices of the night.

[7] *Macbeth*, IV:1.

[8] Fleay, *Witch Scenes in Macbeth* (N. S. Soc. Trans.); Spaulding, *Witch Scenes in Macbeth* (N. S. Soc. Trans.); Farnell, L. R., *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 2; St. Clair, G., *Myths of Greece*, vol. 1.

[9] *Mid-Summer Night's Dream*, V:1:390; *Hamlet*, III:2:269; *Lear*, I:1:112; *Macbeth*, II:2:51.

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Now, if we follow carefully the construction of the witch episodes in the play, the relation Macbeth bears to the supernatural world of evil becomes clear. Here lies the nexus of the problems presented, and as in the case of the Ghost in *Hamlet,* the point of view of the reader regarding the witches will absolutely change his conception of Macbeth's character. If they are conceived as projections, merely, of Macbeth's soul—pictures, as it were of that inner self, hidden at first, but afterwards revealed—then we are concerned with the downfall of a man whose ambition led him in gaining his ends to choose the quicker method of crime. Viewed in this way, the supernatural becomes little short of a defect in the play, and the question of Macbeth's moral freedom and responsibility assumes the predominance. Such an interpretation explains Macbeth, the tyrant, against whom all wholesome social order is arrayed, but it does not explain Macbeth, the symbol of all men who are tempted and fall. And this, it seems, is just the question that the poet is endeavoring to solve. Does sin, he asks, have its origin wholly within the human soul; wholly without; or is it the result of an interaction of both the physical and the metaphysical worlds of evil.

The whole problem of the play therefore turns on the essential reality of the world of which Hecate and the witches are the representatives. That the people believed in this world we know, and in the play we discover its representatives actively engaged in inciting men to crime. As in the case of the Ghost in *Hamlet,* the dramatist has taken every precaution to present the witches as objective realities; they are revealed in four scenes, separated wholly from normal human beings; Banquo is amazed at them, and Macbeth, himself, asks them what they are. With their speech, however, he learns, becoming immediately aware that his inward thought, whose "murder yet is fantastical" had found an echo where he least expected it. The witches did not tell him to commit murder; all that was necessary was for them to suggest the fact of the

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crown, and they could trust Macbeth to overcome the obstacles in his way just as they would have him. The element of moral courage lacking in his nature, the absence of which prevented his taking the first step in crime, was supplied by his wife.

Macbeth—

If we should fail?

Lady Macbeth—

We fail!
But screw your courage to the sticking-place,
And we'll not fail. (I:7:59)

The unfolding of the characters of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth under the suggested temptation is a most striking evidence of Shakespeare's psychological insight. With all of her ambition and her astonishing power of will, Lady Macbeth is nevertheless a woman, and woman-like she has the power to rise, in order to meet a crisis, to a sublime height, even though it be a height of evil. Nevertheless she lacks the ability to preserve that altitude. As long as her husband shares his plans with her, she aids and protects him; but once he withdraws his confidence, she becomes the victim of a melancholy and remorse that end in suicide. Her dreadful secret, which she thinks is securely locked up in her heart, is revealed to the world in her sleep, and she, who had asserted that "a little water clears us of this deed," and that "the sleeping and the dead are but as pictures," wandered lonely in the night, with words on her lips that reveal a soul on fire:

Lady Macbeth—

What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to account? Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?

. . . . . (V:1:41)

Here's the smell of blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.

(V:1:59)

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Shakespeare has given us, in the portrayal of the inner lives of Macbeth and his wife, a vision of two souls in torment, due in Macbeth's case to fears of the future, and that of Lady Macbeth to remorse for the past. Lady Macbeth lived and sinned for her husband's sake, and when he forsook her there was nothing for her to live for, and death was the only solution to her problem. "She should have died hereafter," and "all our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death" was her requiem, spoken by the one for whom she had made this sacrifice.

Macbeth, on the contrary, reacts but slowly to the inciting cause. He enters upon his career of crime with hesitation and foreboding, yet with each misdeed he becomes more hardened until at last we hear him saying:

> For mine own good
> All causes shall give way: I am in blood
> Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more,
> Returning were as tedious as go o'er.
> (III:4:134)

His irresolution, however, is due to ignoble causes; the things that he fears are nothing more than popular censure and loss of reputation:

> We will proceed no further in this business:
> He hath honour'd me of late; and I have bought
> Golden opinions from all sorts of people.
> . . . . . (I:7:31)
> But in these cases
> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instruction, which being taught, return
> To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
> Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
> To our own lips. (I:7:7)

It is noteworthy that nowhere does Macbeth ascribe his crimes to the Weird Sisters. Nor does he appear to recognize the fact that he himself has caused the prophecy to come true; or that he contained in himself both the prophecy and its fulfillment. Being therefore responsible he cannot

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escape his nemesis. There is a sublime irony, even, in the lying prophecies, which, by lulling him into a false security, render the punishment administered to him by outraged law all the more terrible.

Macbeth's defect was not wholly ambition; it was as much selfishness and vanity. Hence, in their utterances the witches had appealed to the weakest points in his nature. Like Richard, he loved but himself:

> **For mine own good**
> **All causes shall give way:**
> **. . . . . (III:4:134)**
>
> *Hecate*—
> **And, which is worse, all you have done**
> **Hath been for a wayward son,**
> **Spiteful and wrathful; who as others do,**
> **Loves for his own ends, not for you. (III:5:10)**

This vanity, itself, becomes a part of his punishment, for power that cannot be exerted upon something becomes a vain thing, as Macbeth discovers when he has alienated all of those elements that render the kingship worthy.

Although Macbeth is not conscious of the fact that he bears a spiritual relation to the witches, that there is such relation the play itself makes clear. We are, indeed, made partakers of the councils of the Weird Sisters and know that they recognize in him an ally fighting for the triumph of evil:

> *1st Witch*—
> **When shall we three meet again?**
> **. . . . . .**
> *2d Witch*—
> **When the battle's lost and won.**
> **. . . . . .**
> *2d Witch*—
> **Upon the heath.**
> **. . . . . .**
> *3d Witch*—
> **There to meet with Macbeth.**
> **. . . . . (I:1:1)**

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3d Witch—
A drum, a drum! Macbeth doth come!
. . . . . (I:3:30)
1st Witch—
Why, how now, Hecate! you look angerly.
Hecate—
Have I not reason, beldames as you are,
Saucy and overbold? How did you dare
To trade and traffic with Macbeth
In riddles and affairs of death?
. . . . . .
Upon the corner of the moon
There hangs a vaporous drop profound;
And that distilled by magic sleights
Shall raise such artificial sprites
As by the strength of their illusion
Shall draw him on to his confusion:
He shall spurn fate, scorn death, and bear
His hopes 'bove wisdom, grace and fear:
And you know security
Is mortal's chiefest enemy. (III:5:1)

It is manifest, therefore, that *Macbeth* in its deepest sense is a portrayal of the interaction of the natural and the supernatural worlds of evil. The latter is shown to be actively at work endeavoring to influence men to become a part of itself, yet the statement is equally clear that it is potent over none save those who seek it, or who make it their good.[10] Macbeth's hidden self was subtly allied with that spiritual cosmos of which the witches were the materialization, and the whole play from the prophetic utterances to the final catastrophe is but the revelation of the disintegration of a human soul. His original blight, a tiny infection in one otherwise noble, stimulated into activity by fair words from foul lips, and by the prompt-

[10] "Webster acknowledges 'an internal mental and spiritual League or Covenant betwixt the Devil and all wicked persons . . . . this spiritual League in some respects and in some persons may be, and is an explicit League, that is the persons that enter into it, are or may be conscious of it.'" Kittredge, G. L., *Notes on Witchcraft*, quoting from Webster, John, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, 1677. (American Antiquarian Soc. Proceedings, vol. 18, pp. 148–212.)

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ings of his wife, slowly spreads throughout his whole nature, until it becomes visible to the world in his amazing crimes. He hardly understands himself the reason why the things for which he has made such sacrifices should yield him so little joy.

> Seyton! I am sick at heart,
> When I behold—Seyton, I say—This push
> Will cheer me even, or disseat me now.
> I have lived long enough: my way of life
> Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf;
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
> Curses, not loud but deep, mouth-honour, breath
> Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.
> (V:3:19)

No wonder he says of the witches:

> Infected be the air whereon they ride,
> And damn'd all those that trust them. (IV:1:138)

Macbeth, furthermore, did not stand alone. He was the first man in the state; at the beginning a leader, at the end a king. Had it been otherwise, the effects of his fall would have been less disastrous. As leader and king, however, his responsibility was increased, for, in a sense, he was the source of law. His deeds, however, were destructive of law, hence he corrupted his office and instilled his contagion into the body politic.

> *Macbeth*—
> Doctor, the thanes fly from me.
> Come, sir, dispatch. If thou couldst, doctor, cast
> The water of my land, to find her disease
> And purge it to a sound and pristine health,
> I would applaud thee to the very echo,
> That should applaud again. (V:3:48)

In view of these facts, it seems clear, therefore, that the poet carries the use of the supernatural in *Macbeth* a degree beyond its portrayal in *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*. He rendered the play more intelligible and popular to his

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own audiences by personifying the spirits of evil in the form of the night-hags of tradition, yet when intently observed, and the relations they bear to Macbeth, as a human being, are considered, they take on a higher signification and become concrete symbols of that element of negation and destructiveness that is opposed to all order and growth; to virtue, indeed, in its every phase. The poet by the means of these foul creatures gives us a dim vision of the fact that disorder and evil in the physical world have their correspondences in the world of spirit; and, as man partakes of the elements of both worlds he is subject to influences from both. Whether Shakespeare believed in witches, is unimportant, but that he did believe in the spiritual state, or condition, of which they are but the projection, is of vast importance, and, I think, demonstrable. The Witches are spirits of evil in its most active and malignant form. They are dwellers in the whirlwinds, and of the night; they plague mankind, and deceive him by factitious shows; they brew poisonous broths composed of vile creatures, of dead bodies, of the remnants of things. Now what is evil according to the poet, as may be inferred from his plays taken as a whole? It is the absence of light, of order, of beauty, of faith, of loyalty; absence, indeed, of all of those qualities that permit life to unfold into its flowers of perfect individuals, families, and states. In contrast with the Witches and their infernal cosmos, stand the poet's words in the *Sonnets,* expressing his conception of the world of beauty, truth, and morality:

> Therefore my verse to constancy confined,
> One thing expressing, leaves out difference.
> "Fair, kind, and true," is all my argument,
> "Fair, kind, and true," varying to other words;
> And in this change is my invention spent,
> Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.
> "Fair, kind, and true," have often lived alone,
> Which three till now never kept seat in one.
>
> (*Sonnets,* CV)

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SONGS*

MARY CAROLYN DAVIES

EXPECTANS

Here stand I, a little maid,
  Holding up my empty cup,
Waiting, still and unafraid,
  For Life's hand to fill it up.

Whatso Life shall bid me drink,
  That will I, and smile at him;
Lips shall laugh, though hearts may shrink;
  Fuller, Life! So—to the brim!

THE LITTLE DEAD DREAM

One day a little dream died,
  A dream I had learned to love;
It was made of a kiss and a white moonbeam,
  And the stars went soft above,
As I buried my dream.
And the world was hushed and the stars swung wide,
  As I buried my little dead dream.

The little dream died so soon,
  Like a delicate white dawn-flower;
It was made of a kiss and a stray moonbeam,
  It lived for only an hour.
So I buried my dream,
And I made a sad little song to croon,
  As I buried my little dead dream.

* Awarded the Emily Chamberlain Cook Prize for 1913.

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DREAMS

One afternoon I slipped away
From where the others laughed and talked;
I knew your eyes began to stray,
And, just a little wistfully,
To follow down the path I walked,
Because you could not bear to be
Away from me.

My hours had all been spent with you;
My time is yours, as I am yours;
All that I think and all I do
Are linked with you and still will be,
What time this soul of mine endures.
Beyond your face all things I see
Are naught to me.

And yet, alone, I slipped away,
Away from you for one brief hour;
Adown the path we love to stray,
Where maiden-hair and sword-fern grew,
And every fairy kind of flower;
The path God kept for just us two
Since earth was new.

Do you know why I left you so,
Here in the hush alone to be?
Not that I loved you less—ah, no!
But love is still so young and new,
That I came softly here, you see,
All in the grasses and the dew,
To dream of you.

HELEN

Men died for Helen—has she ever known
The little, blind hand feeling for her breast,
The small heart beating faintly next her own?
All gifts of life she had—all save the best.

Her kissed lips—overkissed, perhaps, are dust,
And her white hands and purple-lidded eyes,
Her face burned Troy—but still the gods are just—
My little son, how warm and still he lies!

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MADRECITA

Your arm across my shoulder, my mother, oh, my mother,
The little broken stillnesses, the whispers low and shy,
The bits of girlish secrets we used to tell each other,
As we watched the lazy sunsets that trailed across the sky!

Oh, my arms are aching to clasp you to my heart,
Oh, my heart is breaking that we must abide apart;
The miles and miles of water, but I'm just your little daughter,
And it's only you I'm wanting, little mother of my heart.

The precious bit of garden that together we were tending,
The budding honeysuckle and the little old pear tree,
Will the cruel months that mock us, and the black nights ne'er be ending?
And you alone, and all alone, and I across the sea!

Oh, my lips are longing to kiss your whitening hair,
Well I know you're telling God about me in your prayer;
Oh, the miles and miles of water, but I'm just your little daughter
And I want my mother, want her, till it's more than I can bear!

MOTHER-LOVE

I do not know how rolls the world,
I only see his dimpled feet,
His warm, small fingers tightly curled
Around my own; and it is meet
That my life's sun rise in his eyes
And set, and make my life complete.

God's heaven may be a perfect thing—
How white his little limbs and fair!
It may be true that angels sing
God's praise unweariedly there—
His baby laugh, his hands that cling,
And fasten clinging in my hair!

Beyond his smile there may be space,
The spheres their little course may run;
There may be light beyond his face,
And past his eyes there may be sun;
I only know, were his head low,
The race of all the worlds were done.

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MY WORLD

This is such a happy world—
  Dusk and dawn and dew;
And oh, the robin's song is sweet,
  And oh, the sky is blue!

Nights a-dance with scattered stars,
  Days a-gleam with sun;
Can the world beyond the world
  Be a sweeter one?

JUDY O'GRADY

Roughened hair, but a hint of curl,
  Her eyes are hard, and her mouth is thin;
  That look in her face—they call it sin;
After all, she is just another girl.

I cannot guess what her life has been—
  What cruel spur, what brink, what chance,
  How swung the gate of circumstance;
How should I know, kept safe within

The port of home? I look and see
  A many things beyond my ken;
  Sin, it may be true, but then
She's only another girl like me.

SISTERS

My sister never saw the sunlight shift
  Through the cool shadows patterning the lawn;
She never saw the night's black starred veil lift
  From the shy face of dawn.

She only heard the cry of weary looms,
  While somewhere robins sang; and the cruel years,
To keep me free, held her in choking rooms;
  To make me diamonds, used my sister's tears.

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GOD'S MOTHER

For Christ was only a man; how could he tell?
'Tis women's eyes that see and bodies know
The way that leads to heaven, but leads through hell.

Christ only knew Gethsemane. My hand
When I have come, shall clasp hers; and my eyes
Look in His Mother's. She will understand.

QUIET

Only the dew and the starlight lies,
  Only the starlight pale and white,
Between her lips and the happy skies,
  Between her face and the night.

Only the sunlight slanting through;
  The clouds adrift, and the wind at play;
Only the sunlight and the blue
  Between her eyes and day.

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EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN: WHY?*

MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN

Even after these years of careful study of many classes of exceptional children the terminology and classification employed are loose and arbitrary. It is true that the term "exceptional" as a general term, denoting all kinds of deviations from what has been called the ordinary average has recently been adopted by many after it had been suggested by the writer of this paper as long as ten years ago. But there is still much confusion and uncertainty in diagnosis and terminology.

In order to make this paper of value its terminology must be understood. I can only refer to my repeatedly published Tentative Classification of Exceptional Children which, in its crude form as early as 1903, was favorably commented upon by Cesare Lombroso, and which, in its revised form, was first presented to the American Academy of Medicine in 1909.

"Abnormal" children, in this classification, are those who are distinctly feebleminded, insane or moral imbeciles and perverts, and will need custodial care through life, being unfit to live independently in modern human society. The number of these has been greatly overrated. Any indiv-

* From a series of lectures delivered during the Summer Session of the University of California, 1913.

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idual who did not easily respond to more or less superficial testing, has been grouped low, and thus our census figures are no doubt exaggerated. Even the more scientific methods of testing are still crude. It is conceded even by those who believe in the efficacy of the Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence that it has the tendency of ranking children too low. At best, this scale is one of intelligence alone; it does not give any reliable clue to all the other faculties of the mind which enter into wholesome mentality and enable an individual to compete with his fellows in a suitable social environment.

But even using the scale, the results in different localities differ widely as to numbers and percentages. While Dr. Goddard maintains that about two per cent of all school children are distinctly feebleminded, and goes even so far as to believe that many children thought merely backward are really feebleminded, the figures obtained in New Orleans show that less than one per cent are abnormal mentally. And in Raleigh, S. C., only eight out of 3,800 children were found to be feebleminded. This would show that we cannot attempt to generalize too readily on the basis of a limited number of testing opportunities, and that conditions may differ very much in different localities.

A great deal has been said recently about the large percentage of feebleminded among our criminals and prostitutes. While it cannot be disputed that weakminded persons are very apt to drift into delinquency and moral looseness, and while every reformatory and prison has its quota of feebleminded inmates, it must also be conceded that their number is not excessive or even preponderating. And the feebleminded criminal is certainly not so dangerous to society as the clever one, he who has high intellectual and volitional potentials, but whose career was thwarted in the beginning by misdirection, through economic and other causes, so that he became anti-social instead of social. Even the percentage of moral imbeciles is not so large that it would swell the ranks of the criminals unduly. Crime has

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many other causes. Many a criminal, for that matter, is not a genuine imbecile, but merely a primitive man, an atavistic type, perfectly normal under primitive conditions, but unsocial in the higher and more complex social organism of the present day.

Speaking of the causes leading to abnormal development, there has also been too much alarmism and over-emphasis of obscure and insufficiently proven data. The part heredity plays has certainly been over-stated. Of course, outspoken degeneracy, physical and mental, and positive defects are apt to be transmitted to the offspring. Deafmutism, for example, is distinctly hereditary. So is idiocy and imbecility. The heredity sequence of transmission can easily be traced when we are dealing with single or a small number of units. Black parents will have black children, and white parents will have white offspring. But when we are mixing types and multiply units, we are confronted with many possible combinations of transmitted traits which it is difficult to foretell, and the number of which increases in geometric proportion. Even a marriage between black and white, or mulatto and white, allows of quite a number of variations. It has been shown that the number of units transmitted from one human being to another, including physical, emotional, mental, and other traits, must be counted by the thousands. It is therefore entirely impossible to state whether a certain mixture of types will produce this or that result, and whether defects in the parents may not be overbalanced by transmitted and accumulated excellencies. To say that a criminal father must have a criminal son, is preposterous; the son may become a benefactor of mankind.

Delinquent children are only too often victims of circumstances, and many children who give the first impression of feeblemindedness and anti-social instincts may be saved to useful citizenship. It is too often a matter of unfavorable evnronment and lack of opportunity for proper education and training, not to speak of inspiration towards the awakening of mental effort and social instincts.

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Even inebriety and venereal diseases, much harm as they have done and are still doing, must not be held responsible for more than their share of influence. After all, if they were so potent an evil as they are represented to be, we would now be a race of imbeciles and criminals. Drunkenness and lues were much more common in the past than now; there were times, not far off, when it was considered a test of valiance to serve Bacchus, Gambrinus and Cupido to exhaustion. Our forefathers were heavy drinkers, and no lady of the royal court even would seek her nightly pillow without having had a night-cap of singular strength. Licentiousness was common in the highest places, and in ancient times a kind of prostitution was connected with religious rites. One who studies the history of venereal disease will admit that we have made progress. And in spite of our tainted heredity, we are after all a virile race, and are following an upward trend.

Seemingly hereditary conditions are often due to imitation in early childhood, and to the workings of similar life conditions. Weakened constitutions in parents, and a transmission of weakened conditions may be overcome in the children by proper attention and treatment, medical, social and mental.

These remarks must not be so construed as if they were intended to discredit the study of eugenics. Eugenics is a most valuable science, young and incomplete as it is, and the time has come when children must make up their minds to select better parents for themselves. Seriously speaking, the warning issued by the eugenists should be heeded everywhere. But we must not be too hasty to crystalize these warnings in the form of laws which are apt to do more harm than good, if they go farther than to regulate the most obvious things. Our data are still meagre, and the collection of data is very difficult as we have no vital statistics to speak of, and those who try to gather information as to the family history of individuals will find their path beset with almost insurmountable obstructions, especially when it is desired

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to obtain scientifically reliable facts about the mental and physical condition of ancestors and relatives. It is for this reason that a great many of the family charts prepared in various places are of doubtful value.

Quoting from my recent article on "Sane Eugenics":

"How little we are justified to make off-hand assertions in regard to the effect of physical and neural diseases upon the status or social efficiency of an individual is evident from a study of genius's debt to disease. Genius has often been compared with insanity, and sometimes has been called closely related to feeblemindedness and mental defect. Nevertheless, if all mankind were of the average animal and neural health so vigorously advocated by some students of eugenics, we should possibly be without some of those wonderful minds who have given to the world the loftiest thoughts, the finest art and the highest emotional stimulus. Dr. Charles B. Reed comes with the theory that the world is indebted for many of its literary masterpieces to the presence of disease-produced poisons in the author's blood. 'We are not prepared at present to insist that toxins are essential to achievement, nor that an obscure toxin will convert mediocrity into genius, but rather to suggest that the presence of such a substance in the circulation may, and does in many instances, accelerate and intensify the expression of existent intellectual tendencies,' writes Dr. Reed in the *Forum*. In support of his theory he cites the instances of Macaulay, Gibbon, Lytton, Landor, Milton, Defoe, Heine, J. Addington Symonds, Stevenson and many others. But it has been shown long ago that the human race would hardly be what it is at present if it had not been for its neurotics. A highly sensitive nervous organism has certainly its drawbacks for the individual and for his immediate family but the world at large is the gainer by individual unhappiness and by the sacrifice of individual eugenics."

Broadly speaking, it must be admitted that it is the effect of environmental conditions and influences that has developed the human race from barbarism to civilization.

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In this process, physical and mental hygiene and education may be called the conscious elements.

Social and economic conditions have been responsible for a vast amount of "exceptional" development of the undesirable order. A study of the causes of retardation of school children must include a study of their home environment and economic standing. A survey of the stockyards district of Chicago has revealed the most astounding facts as to why the children attending school there become retarded and grew up to be failures in life. Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, has forcibly shown the disastrous effect of economic pressure. Secretary G. Loving Brace of the New York Children's Aid Society stated in one of his reports: "Poor and insufficient food, noise, confusion, excitement day and night, have favored the development among the young, of St. Vitus Dance. Poor food, little sleep and long hours of confining labor are having the deleterious effect to be expected upon the older children." The number of homeless children is astounding, and any study of the causes of delinquency and dependency of children will convince the student that neglect and maltreatment are only too frequent causes. These are only a few of the most potent factors leading to unfortunate "exceptional" development.

Again, there are racial differences, and the various types of immigrants adapt themselves with different degrees of success to our economic conditions. Our life conditions are becoming more and more strenuous, and in this struggle for existence the social strata, representing different levels of civilization, are becoming more and more clearly defined, in terms of economic success and social value. Our population, even omitting the immigrant portion, is by no means culturally homogeneous; the "mountain whites," the "white trash," and similar types represent bygone stages of civilization. Those who have kept pace with the rapid advance are relatively at an advantage in the race for success, and the backward types fail in the merciless competition. This naturally affects the children in their endowments for educa-

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tion and in their chances for self-betterment. In these cases it is not always a problem of the individual, but of generations.

Of the physical causes of retarded and impaired development, much has been said, and it is hardly necessary to go into details. But let us remember that we must observe those danger signals in the development of a child which signify that we must beware. There are tensions between the physiological and the psychological nature of a child; there are developmental periods in which derailment is particularly easy, as in the pubertal and adolescent age. There are distinct psychopathic conditions, even in early childhood, which require prompt diagnosis and attention. There are sexual neurotics. There are preventable causes of blindness and deafness, and there are methods which will give even those unfortunates who are deprived of sight and hearing, their birthrights of rational training. Writes Helen Keller in a recent letter to the author:

"I, too, was handicapped in the earliest years of my life. I, too, had a potentially normal mind. Strong barriers had to be broken down before my mind could be awakened and developed. Only the skill of a wise, loving teacher made this possible. Only a patient study and clear understanding of my mental needs lifted me up to a happier, freer existence."

Well organized systems of medical inspection of school children and of preventive school hygiene will do much to alleviate conditions of this kind.

In fact, school sanitation will relieve much of the strain which now causes so much havoc in the lives of our growing children. It will relate not only to proper lighting, seating, and things of that kind; but even more effectively to programmes and courses of study. Many a child goes astray or falls behind because the conditions under which he works are against his own individual nature. It was an interested step to take when a certain school system introduced "schools for the discontented." Whittier's "Bare-

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foot Boy" ought not to have been written in vain. The truant is not necessarily a bad boy.

The daily programme must be adjusted to the fatigue curves of the daily efficiency of a child. The course of study must be more elastic, so as to recognize the measure of human efficiency. There should be less formality and less looking for "average" results or mechanically determined percentages. We must realize that there are different types of mind which require differentiated training and stimuli. The grading of the work must be based upon a clear understanding of the laws of mental development. Psychological tests of the work required in the different classes of the ordinary graded school have revealed the fact that much of the material, many of the tasks required of the children, are entirely unsuited to the stage of intellectual growth to which they are applied. This suggests that we must revise our school standards most thoroughly upon the foundation of psychological facts. The individualization of instruction which takes into consideration the different mental and emotional attitudes of the pupils will lead to a rational recognition of an early vocational training and vocational guidance. All in all, we need a humanization of instruction.

A class of children which is even more neglected than the handicapped and retarded child, is that of exceptionally bright children. And yet they are destined to become the leaders of our race, in intellect, in culture, in constructive activity, in commerce, in politics, and in the uplift of civilization generally. As it is, few have the blessing of being understood in their specific needs, and are treated educationally either as if they were like the average, or even as sinners. For repressed or misguided energy and virile impulse will have to find an outlet somewhere and somehow, and if it finds no legitimate task to perform, it will break the bounds and explode in some form. Thus, those who might have become leaders for good, may become our criminals, our misleaders, our selfish demagogues. What might have been a power for good, and a blessing to humanity, turns into a power for evil and a curse to the race. We

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need schools for those who are to be the pioneers of the future, the captains of our nation in the battle for higher culture and civilization.

And in the training the social instincts which must make for betterment we must not forget the training in self-control. Splendid examples have been given in a number of educational institutions by the introduction of systems of self-government of the pupils. This feature deserves much careful attention. With a proper development of this democratic method of the training of the will and of the social nature of the child, many pitfalls will be avoided into which the untrained mind of our youth is apt to fall. It will give to the growing child a new appreciation of his responsibility, and especially in the adolescent period, when altruistic sentiments arise with particular force, battling, however, with the rising sense of self, of individual rights and privileges, a training in pupils' self-government will go far to strengthen the social instinct and to curb the anti-social tendencies.

The problem of the exceptional child is the problem of how we may save the frightful human waste which is going on all the time. It is, put in a different way, the problem of failure or success in education.

Says Helen Keller in the letter quoted from before: "It is of the utmost importance to give every child the best education of which he is capable. No effort, no money, no sacrifice should be spared. The more severely a child is handicapped, the more precious is whatever equipment is given him for the struggle of life. Let the public once realize how far such children can be helped, and nothing will be left undone to prevent the fearful waste of human minds which lies heavy upon our civilization. This is true conservation—the saving of valuable human faculties from neglect and unskillful teaching."

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THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA*

HERBERT E. BOLTON

So unusual a custom in an American state as the annual celebration of its admission into the Union may justly cause comment, and inquiry into its origin and meaning. Other states have their special holidays. In Louisiana, for example, is held the annual Mardigras, and Texas holds her chief celebration on March 2, the anniversary of her declaration of independence from Mexico. But, besides California, only two states—Wyoming and Nevada—commemorate with holiday and festivities their admission into the Union. It is not only interesting, therefore, but fitting, to inquire into the origin and significance of the holiday, particularly since sixty-two per cent of Californians are not Native Sons or Native Daughters, but immigrants, whose early traditions hark back to the Atlantic Slope, the Old South, or the Middle West, to Europe or to Asia. This occasion, indeed, might well become a regular part of our process of "benevolent assimilation."

The significance of the admission of California may be viewed from many angles. The obvious standpoint is what it meant to the pioneers themselves, when they instituted the custom, and to indicate this shall be my chief object. Taking a larger view of the event, we are led to ask what

* Address delivered at the University Meeting, September 12, 1913.

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was the national significance of the admission of California at the time when it became a state, what it meant subsequently, means now, and will mean to the future of the nation? Any one of these questions has boundless possibilities, which can scarcely be even suggested in a twenty minute address. None of the questions can be rightly approached except by inquiry into the circumstances of California's admission.

With the first landing of the Jamestown colony on the shores of Virginia the English people in America began to "go West." Bear and bison, Indian and forest, Frenchman and Spaniard, all gave way to their onward march, nor were they stopped more than momentarily by rugged mountain or swollen stream. Trapper and explorer, lumberman and miner, cattleman and farmer, resistlessly they came, slowly at times, and again with tremendous leaps and bounds. First possessing themselves of the Atlantic tidewater, they crossed the Piedmont, threaded the mountain passes, poured forth into the valleys of Tennessee and Kentucky, across the Ohio into the Old Northwest, and beyond the Mississippi into the land of an alien power. To the pathfinders the land seemed fair, and they turned to beckon their government on. Napoleon could not hold Louisiana, and by a single stroke of that monarch's pen the western boundary of the United States was carried to the Red River and to the roof of the Rockies. The flag had followed the pioneer.

The march went on. Boston traders came round the Horn, opened the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest, and a contraband trade with the settlements on the coast of Spanish California. Overland, the way was now obstructed on the flanks—in the Northwest by the British and in the Southwest by Spain. But like a great, resistless wedge, the American advance guard pushed in between these two retarding barriers. Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas settled, the frontiersmen, not to be checked by mere international boundaries, again led the way into alien territory.

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Filibusters revolutionized and colonists settled the Spanish province of Texas. Explorer, trapper and Santa Fé trader made their way to the Pacific Northwest, to the Great Interior Basin, to the Far Southwest, and around or through the Sierras into California. In the wake of these pathfinders there followed, over the Oregon Trail, the great trek to the Northwest, while by way of the Pacific, the California Trail, the Santa Fé Trail, and the more southerly routes, began a lesser movement into California.

The frontiersmen had again led the way into alien territory, unbidden and unwelcome, and again the government followed. By compromise with England half of Oregon was secured; attempts were made to purchase Texas and the magnificent Bay of San Francisco; the purchase failed, but Texas revolted and was annexed. Annexation spelled war, and the war carried the boundary to the Rio Grande and the Pacific.

But "manifest destiny" was not unattended by tribulations. What had begun as, and was at the bottom, a manifestation of land hunger, pure and simple, became entangled in sectional politics. The pioneers who had crossed the Appalachians, the Mississippi, and the Rockies, had come from both North and South, Northerner and Southerner alike hunting free lands on which to begin life anew. But the North and the South had grown divergent in industry and in political thought. The North had long tended toward nationalism, the South toward state sovereignity. The South could use slaves with profit; the North could not. One section firmly believed that slavery was wrong, and wished it abolished; the other warmly defended the institution, and vehemently resisted all attacks upon it. Inevitably the question of territorial expansion involved that of the extension of slavery and that of political power.

For three decades the jealousy of the sections had been appeased by political balance. The admission of a free state had been offset by that of a slave state. Indiana was balanced against Mississippi, Illinois against Alabama,

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Maine against Missouri, Michigan against Arkansas, Iowa against Texas. The policy of balance was supplemented by that of compromise, and by agreement the West, from the Mississippi to the Rockies, was divided, one part being opened to slave labor, the other to free labor only.

But the effect of all this was upset by the acquisition of Oregon, New Mexico, and California. What was to be done with this vast new domain, in order that the interests of the two sections might be preserved? In Oregon, already devoted to free labor by nature, slavery was prohibited by act of Congress. The test came with California, and Californians were forced to suffer the delay entailed by the bitter struggle.

For two long years the nation's leaders debated and proposed while California waited. Should slavery be excluded from California by act of Congress, or should it be established by act of Congress? Should the Missouri Compromise line be extended to the Pacific, or should the whole matter be left to "squatter sovereignty"? The nation was in a deadlock.

In California, meanwhile, conditions were not only anomalous, but intolerable. Oregon, acquired only shortly before California, was given a civil government in 1848. But California must wait. After the war California was left under a military governor, and the administration became known as a "mongrel military rule." By the inhabitants this was regarded as tyranny, suited only to a conquered people, for they were little impressed by the fiction that, while the governor was in charge of the army, he was "ex officio civil governor."

What was more galling was the lack of American laws. California had been a Mexican province, and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the Mexican laws were still in force and could be replaced only by act of Congress. Americans in California, therefore, were in the most unusual position of living in a province belonging to the United States but governed by foreign laws. The courts went under the un-

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familiar name of *tribunales;* the town councils were *ayuntamientos;* the administrative and police officers, *prefectos* and *alcaldes.* Court procedure and administrative methods were alike unfamiliar and misunderstood.

To a race of men descended from English commoners through generations of American frontiersmen, and accustomed not only to administer but to make their own laws, this situation was intolerable. It was made more so by the discovery of gold, which brought to California an ever increasing horde of humanity from the ends of the earth, who multiplied the problems of peace and order.

It was complained at the time that the territory had neither laws, nor legislature, nor revenue; soldiers and seamen deserted to the mines; it was impossible to get titles to real estate, because there was no authority to grant them; towns were left without able-bodied men, property was insecure, and there was an alarming increase of crime; lawless immigrants took possession of the missions of San José and Santa Clara, injured the buildings and destroyed the vineyards and orchards; wild Indians, aided by those of the missions, made organized raids on the stock of American settlers. It was even impossible to secure a divorce. However, the ingenious governor decided that since there was no law on divorce in California, a woman who had been deserted might consider her husband as dead. On this sort of mortality I have no statistics.

Commenting on the situation in 1849, an eminent historian says: "In these circumstances it was really monstrous to demand that California should wait year after year with stolid patience till the quarrel on the slavery question was somehow and sometime ended, in order to receive from the hands of Congress a real government and legal status. Congress was not only guilty of a serious neglect of duty, but in its prolonged and fruitless efforts to give a legal existence to the domain acquired from Mexico it offered the most pitiable illustration of political impotence that can be found in the history of the United States." I can-

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not subscribe wholly to this charge of guilt, but thus it appeared to Californians at the time.

No wonder they took matters into their own hands. The demand for a convention, raised as early as 1847, was accentuated by the murder of a prominent man in the mines. Mass meetings were held all over the country in regulation American style. Resolutions were drawn, and committees of correspondence appointed. One is reminded, indeed, of the days of Patrick Henry and the Boston Tea Party. One mass meeting, held in San Francisco in Old Portsmouth Square—that Boston Commons of the Pacific Coast—adopted resolutions declaring the right of the people of California, the last Congress having failed them, to organize for their own protection, to elect delegates to a convention to form a state government, "that the great and growing interests of California may be represented in the next Congress of the United States."

When the news came early in 1849 that Congress had adjourned again and left California without a government, Governor Riley acceded to the demand and called a convention. It met at Monterey September 3, 1849.

The work of this convention was worthy of renown throughout all time. But it has been extolled by better pens than mine, and my time is limited. The youthfulness of its members has often been remarked upon. It was composed of forty-eight men, whose average age was thirty-six years. Nine of them were less than thirty, and two-thirds of them were less than forty. The composite character of the convention was typical of California ever since. There were fourteen lawyers, eleven farmers, seven merchants, and one gentleman from Texas who gave his occupation as that of "elegant leisure." Fifteen members were from the southern states, twenty-three from the northern states; two were recent comers from Europe, and eight were native Californians, that is, Mexicans. Six of the members had been in California less than six months, and ten others less than three years.

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The convention worked day and night, and in six weeks it had drawn and signed a constitution which was not replaced till 1879. One month later the constitution was adopted by vote of the people, and before the end of the year the legislature had met and elected two senators to the Congress of the United States, to which California was not yet admitted.

The authority quoted before remarks in this connection: "The population of California, swept together from all the states of the Union, gave the most magnificent illustration of the wonderful capacity of the [American] people for self-government, by creating for themselves, of their own motion, and with the utmost coolness and deliberation, a political organization which proved itself viable under conditions to which many an old and firmly established government would have succumbed."

The California convention, by unanimous vote of Southerner and Northerner, abolished slavery, and declared against division by claiming everything on the Pacific Coast from San Diego to Oregon. In Congress, however, this decision was not accepted without a struggle—a contest which enlisted the giants of the nation. The very union was though to be in danger. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, declared on the floor of Congress: "I do not hesitate to avow . . . in the presence of the living God that if you seek to drive us from California . . . I am for disunion." And his sentiment was applauded.

And while the nation was thus deadlocked in mortal combat, California was forced again to wait almost another year. The coming of every mail steamer to the coast was watched with eager interest. When, in September, news came of the defeat of the compromise bill, hope turned to despair, despair to anger, and there was talk of secession. Said an editorial in the *Evening Picayune* of September 14 (the good news had not yet been heard): "No people can lay under the uncompensated exactions which have, for two years past, been forced upon us; and the people are, with

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great plausibility, familiarizing their minds with the idea, . . . that united with Oregon, and with the inevitable extension of our influence on either hand . . . we may build up here a great western Republic, independent of all the world besides. If this idea is treasonable or revolutionary, it is forced upon the minds of our people by the necessities which Congress have presumed upon the right to leave us." Perhaps this was a bluff. Perhaps not.

But at last the deadlock in Congress was broken, and the *dernier ressort* was unnecessary. Clay, the "great Pacificator," brought forth another compromise. Webster, the leader of the North, in one of the greatest efforts of his remarkable career, took his side by Clay, and the compromise was accepted. In return for concessions elsewhere, California was admitted as a free state, and for another decade the crisis was deferred.

Judge Davis, whose place I am trying to fill, could not be here, but I will mitigate the loss by quoting from his Oakland address a paragraph characterizing California's admission: "The brilliant audacity of California's method of admission into the Union stands without parallel in the history of the Nation. Outside of the original thirteen colonies, she was the only State carved out of the national domain which was admitted into the Union without a previous enabling act or territorial apprenticeship. What was called the State of Deseret tried it and failed, and the annexation of Texas was the annexation of a foreign republic. With full right did she avowedly place upon her great seal her Minerva—her 'robed goddess in arms'—not as the goddess of wisdom, not as the goddess of war, but to signify that as Minerva was not born, but sprang full armed from the brain of Jupiter, so California, without territorial childhood, sprang full-grown into the sisterhood of states."

"When it is remembered that California was not admitted into the Union till September 9, 1850, and yet that the first session of its State Legislature had met, legislated

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and adjourned by April 22, 1850, some appreciation may be had of the speed limit—if there was a limit. The record of the naive self-sufficiency of that Legislature is little short of amazing."

We can now understand why the people of California celebrated admission. When the news came from Washington to San Francisco there went up a shout of triumph and joy. On October 18, at a quarter to twelve, the mail vessel Oregon steamed through the Golden Gate, with flags streaming and cannon booming, to announce "to the delighted citizens," as the *Picayune* of the same day said, "the glorious news of our admission to the Confederacy of States." The *Picayune* of the next day continued: "No pen can describe the enthusiastic joy that burst from the deepest chamber of every breast . . . under the assurance of the *fact* that California has at last been permitted to take the stand due her among the independent sovereignities of the great North American Confederation."

The whole day and night of the eighteenth were given over to rejoicing, and all bitterness at seeming mistreatment was "drowned in the sea of happiness that rolled over the entire community." The crowd rushed to the Staff of Freedom (liberty pole) that stood in the center of Portsmouth Square, and added another star to the national emblem.

But nothing short of a formal celebration was adequate to the occasion. I wish you all might read about that first celebration on October 29th. The contemporary accounts of it should be reprinted for distribution at all future celebrations of Admission Day.

In the morning a salute was fired in the Plaza by a detachment of United States artillery under command of Lieutenant H. G. Gibson. At 10 o'clock the procession formed in Montgomery street, then the principal thoroughfare of the city, the several divisions of the parade filing into column from Sacramento, Commercial, and Clay streets. From every intersecting street came great crowds

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to witness the spectacle. Montgomery street was packed from Jackson to California. The windows on each side were filled with eager spectators, and, much as the roses of California reminded Father Serra of the roses of Castile, the "great turnout of ladies" reminded the gallant Eastern reporter "of scenes we had witnessed upon similar occasions in the great cities of the Atlantic States." The procession carried floral devices and "looked more like a moving flower garden than the march of an array," and the reporter wrote: "We confess, we own up, once for all, that we are proud of California, proud of her people, whose allegiance to the Union, as thus exemplified, portended for her a brilliant and unclouded destiny."

The column countermarched on Montgomery street, passed up Sacramento to Kearny, up Kearny to Clay, up Clay to Stockton, through Stockton to Washington, down Washington to Montgomery, east on Montgomery to Clay, and up Clay to the Plaza.

First came the grand marshal, with white satin scarf, gold trimmings and blue sash, attended by four aides, each with light blue scarf and trimmings of blue. Indeed, it must have been a procession of marshals. There were marshals with crimson scarfs and gold trimmings, and marshals with orange-colored scarfs, all mounted on superb horses, tastefully caparisoned, with saddle-cloths of blue.

Behind the grand marshal, the ordinary marshals, and the buglers came the California Guards, "whose appearance was in every respect appropriate to the place assigned them in the procession." Then the Washington Guards, "in excellent drill and an honor to the city." Next a delegation of native Californians (Mexicans), bearing a great banner on which glistened thirty-one stars on a blue satin ground, with the inscription in gold letters, CALIFORNIA. E. PLURIBUS UNUM."

Then came the Society of California Pioneers with a banner on which was painted a Yankee stepping on the shore, with stars and stripes in hand, and being welcomed

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by a native Californian with lasso and *serape*. In the center of the banner were the state seal and the inscription: "FAR WEST. EUREKA. 1846. CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. ORGANIZED AUGUST, 1850."

In the wake of the Pioneers came the officers of the army and navy, soldiers of the Frémont Battalion, the First Regiment of New York Volunteers, and others, led by Colonel Jack Hays, a Texan hero of the Mexican war. Consuls and foreign agents "made a fine turnout." The subjects of Her Majesty Queen Victoria were out in crowds and bearing the Union Jack. The Celestials, in great numbers, with bright native costumes, led by their own marshal in true American style, carried a blue banner bearing the legend, "The China Boys."

The triumphal car followed. In it rode thirty boys in liberty caps and uniforms, each representing a state. "In the center of this magnificent car," says the reporter, "appeared a smiling little girl, dressed in white, with gold and silver gauze floating gracefully from her head." She carried a breastplate similar to the rest, inscribed "California. The Union, it must and shall be preserved."

The Mayor and Council were attended by "a large and appropriate banner" inscribed "San Francisco, the Commercial Emporium of the Pacific." The police department carried an elegant blue satin banner, surmounted by a golden eagle, and inscribed: "San Francisco Police Department. *Semper Paratus.*" Next followed the fire department; the watermen, pushing a boat named the "General Taylor"; the printers with a car drawn by four horses, and bearing the first printing press made in California, on which had been printed the Ode for the occasion. After the printers marched the various societies—the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and others. The banner of the New England Society read "Religion, Liberty, and Law. Sons of the Pilgrims on the Shores of the Pacific, instituted October 18, 1850." Dress plain black.

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And so on without end. At the Plaza the band played "Hail Columbia." Prayer was offered by Rev. R. T. Hubbard. Hon. Nathaniel Bennet delivered the oration, and the following original ode was read by Mrs. Wills, of Louisiana:

ODE[1]

Rejoice! hear ye not o'er the hills of the East
The sound of our welcome to Liberty's Union?
Pledge high! for we join in the mystical feast
That our forefathers hallowed at Freedom's communion!
Then with hands high in air, our allegiance we swear,
Which time, nor dissension, shall ever impair;
And the Band of the Union, oh, long may it be
The hope of th' oppressed and the shield of the free.

Though afar on the verge of the ocean we lie,
Our hearts are as true as the sun that shines o'er us;
Our treasures we bring of earth, ocean and sky,
And souls that exult to join freedom's full chorus.
Should foes o'er the land our justice withstand,
'Neath our own stripes and stars, we are found heart and hand.
For the Band of the Union, oh, long shall it be
The hope of th' oppressed and the shield of the free.

Like the star that once rose over Bethlehem's height,
And shed o'er creation the light of its beaming,
May the "Bride of the West" through the earth pour her light,
Nor set, while one heart can be cheered by its gleaming.
So shall nations afar point to nations the star,
In peace softly shining, though dreadful in war:
In the Band of the Union, oh, long may it be
The hope of th' oppressed and the shield of the free.

We have now seen why and how the pioneers celebrated admission. They celebrated because they had won their rights after a long struggle and a long period of waiting. Because they loved the Union and had brought its banner with them; because they were a new and struggling community, and needed help to develop the vast land which

[1] From the *Evening Picayune*, October 30, 1850.

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they had won; because they had the broad vision characteristic of the West, and foresaw, on the shores of the Pacific, a great commonwealth builded for their sons and daughters.

We celebrate because they celebrated; because we sympathize with their struggles, and exult in their triumph. We commemorate their strength and their high ideals, their mastery of self under unparalleled temptation to dissolution. Most of all, we rejoice because we are their heirs, and because by their toil they made and gave us this great, sunlit, mountain-crowned, wave-washed, free California. May we all emulate their virtues, their wisdom, and their strength.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD

VICTOR H. HENDERSON

With the beginning of the present University year $350,000 per annum became available as a State appropriation for the support of the College of Agriculture. In this appropriation for Agriculture were merged a large number of appropriations which have in the past been made for specific agricultural purposes. The total represents, however, a generous increase in the funds available for agricultural work.

Other annual grants made by the Legislature which became available with this University year include $10,000 for support of the Los Angeles Department of the College of Medicine, $7,500 for the maintenance of the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, $5,000 for insecticide and fungicide control work, and $200,000 for the general support and maintenance of the University, this being an increase of $100,000 per annum.

The special appropriations available for 1913–15 for the University are as follows:

Los Angeles Medical Department		$25,000
Land for a Citrus Experiment Station in Southern California	$60,000	
Residence and Outbuildings	25,000	
Laboratory Building	100,000	
Total for the Citrus Experiment Station		185,000
Lick Observatory—For a new dormitory to replace one which it had been necessary to remove		50,000
University Farm Classroom and Laboratory building		65,000
University Farm Dormitory		40,000
Addition to the Dining Hall		10,000
Various small buildings at the University Farm		20,000
		$395,000

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Not including the special appropriations of $395,000 for building work and land purchase for 1913–15 for the University Farm, the Citrus Experiment Station in Southern California, the Los Angeles Medical Department, and the Lick Observatory mentioned above, the total income of the University is estimated in the budget for 1913–14 as $2,132,608.17. The increase over previous years is mostly for agricultural work. The salary roll for the year ending June 30, 1914, will be approximately $900,000.

There is, however, a very serious deficiency in the rate of growth of income available for teaching the 5,000 students at Berkeley. There are more than 1,100 more undergraduates at Berkeley this fall than there were two years ago. It costs about $200 per annum to educate a student in the colleges at Berkeley, according to the estimate published in President Wheeler's last biennial report. The money available for teaching purposes at Berkeley has grown in the past two years at a rate only half the rate at which the number of undergraduates has increased.

STUDENTS GROW ONE-SIXTH

The new University year 1913–14 began with nearly one-sixth more students enrolled than on a corresponding date one year before. The undergraduates on October 1 numbered 4,327, the graduate students 578, while the total enrollment, including the Summer Session of 1913, was 7,075.

Recorder Sutton's statement of enrollment for October 1, 1912, as compared with October 1, 1913, is as follows:

ENROLLMENT FIGURES, OCTOBER 1, 1912 AND 1913

	1912	1913
A. Graduate students at Berkeley	516	578
B. Undergraduate students at Berkeley	3747	4327
Total	4263	4905
C. Summer Session	2275	2363
	6538	7278
Deduct Summer Session students also registered Oct. 1	403	517
Net Total, Colleges at Berkeley	6135	6761
D. Colleges in San Francisco	292	314
Grand total	6427	7075

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Certain Segregations

At Berkeley (Graduates and undergraduates):		
School of Jurisprudence	118	116
School of Architecture	116	110
School of Education	.....	568
Colleges of Letters, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences	2339	2738
College of Commerce	278	280
Colleges of Engineering and Chemistry	806	828
College of Agriculture	409	530
At San Francisco:		
Hastings College of the Law	97	79
College of Medicine	19	31
(At Berkeley 1912, 82; 1913, 88)		
College of Dentistry	89	90
College of Pharmacy	87	114
Minor Schools:		
Farm School at Davis	150	187
Wilmerding School	190	155
San Francisco Institute of Art	225	201
Agricultural Short Course at Davis	187	95*

Men and Women

All colleges at Berkeley:				
Men	2558	60%	2990	61%
Women	1705	40%	1921	39%
In the only colleges in which women are largely enrolled, namely, Letters, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences:				
Men	914	39%	1112	41%
Women	1425	61%	1626	59%
Summer Session:				
Men	676	30%	781	33%
Women	1599	70%	1582	67%

Omitted:

Extension courses, Correspondence courses.

* Figures for 1913 not complete because short course in Horticulture and Animal Husbandry not yet reported.

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PRESIDENT WHEELER IN EUROPE

President Wheeler is spending the present half-year in Germany, Italy, Greece, and Egypt on a leave of absence from the University. During his absence the direction of the affairs of the University has been in the hands of Dean David Prescott Barrows as Dean of the Academic Faculties.

BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

A new track is to be constructed west of California Field, between Bancroft way and the central heating and power plant. The asphalt tennis courts on Bancroft way will be destroyed for this purpose, and eight new courts built where the women's courts are now situated—south of Hearst Hall and east of California Field, at the northwest corner of Bancroft way and College avenue. Additional ground needed for this track project was acquired through the purchase by the Regents of property at the northwest corner of Barrow street and Bancroft way. The Associated Students have deeded to the University as a gift land at College avenue and Sylvan way of approximately the same area as the land bought by the University at Barrow street. The students will defray the cost of this new quarter-mile track. It will have bleachers with a seating capacity of 10,000.

The city of Berkeley, through action of its Trustees, closed Barrow street and Sylvan way, upon the acquirement by the Regents of complete frontage upon these two half-block streets. These former street areas form a valuable addition to the campus. Barrow street becomes a part of the new track site, and Sylvan way part of the land assigned to future development of the athletic facilities in the Hearst Hall region.

Through Mrs. Hearst's generosity an open-air swimming pool seventy-five feet in length is to be built for the women students north of Hearst Hall, and two new basketball courts are to be constructed there to take the place of the present basketball court south of Hearst Hall. The Hearst Hall dressing rooms, now completely outgrown, are to be extended east to College avenue and a second story provided, containing an exercising room sixty by a hundred feet in size. This will be extremely useful not only for gymnasium purposes but also for lectures, receptions, college dances, etc.

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The Jane K. Sather Campanile

Work was begun during the summer on the Jane K. Sather Campanile, for which $200,000 was made available through the gift of Mrs. Jane K. Sather. This 300-foot bell-tower, with exterior walls of white granite, pyramidal top of marble, and ornamentation in bronze and in carved granite, will be a landmark clearly visible from San Francisco and from ships entering the Golden Gate. Approximately as high as the new Oakland City Hall, it will be an even more conspicuous object, since its base is 250 feet above sea-level, and since there are no tall buildings anywhere in its vicinity to lessen its apparent height. The cost was kept by the Regents well within the gift, the individual items being as follows:

Elevator, $3,900; excavation and concrete, $41,400; granite, $72,500; marble, $8,385; structural steel, $43,000; ornamental metal, $8,500; architect's fees, at 6 per cent, $10,660; superintendence, approximately, $3,000; total, $191,345.

This leaves a balance of $8,655 available for incidentals. There is a further sum of $25,000 given by Mrs. Sather for the "Sather Bells"—chimes which are to be installed in the beautiful open belvedere, 250 feet above the base of the Campanile.

School of Tropical Agriculture

Sixty thousand dollars was appropriated by the 1913 Legislature for the purchase of a site for the Citrus Experiment Station and Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture. The Regents named as a committee to select the site Dr. Thomas Forsyth Hunt, Dean of the College of Agriculture, Dr. Herbert J. Webber, Dean of the Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture, and Professor J. E. Coit. This committee was instructed to examine all possible practicable locations and to recommend those sites which in their opinion best fulfilled the needs, including at least two possible locations. The following-named were invited by the Regents to act as an advisory committee, to meet, at the wish of the Faculty Committee, with this Faculty Committee to arrive at a selection satisfactory to the University and to the growers of Southern California: E. A. Chase, Riverside; S. C. Chapman, Fullerton; C. O. Teague, Santa Paula; R. C. Allen, San Diego; and John Lindley, Azusa.

University Farm Buildings

The preparation of plans and the letting of contracts has been approved for the new buildings at the University Farm for which funds were provided by the Legislature of 1913. Included are a new dormitory; a classroom building, with brick exterior walls; an addi-

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tion to the dining hall; a farm machinery shop; a poultry laying-house, and an office building.

A contract has been let to B. J. Duffy for $34,086 for the new dormitory at the University Farm. This is the third such dormitory erected.

Scripps Institution Seawall

A seawall is being constructed at the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, at a cost of $37,500, Miss Ellen B. Scripps having given the funds for the work.

GIFTS TO THE UNIVERSITY

Miss Annie M. Alexander's gift for the support of the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology for the half-year ending June 30, 1913, was $5,453.97.

Hendrick C. Anderson has presented a work entitled "Creation of a World Centre of Communication" in which he formulates definite plans to further international relations by establishing a world center in the form of a city.

Miss Margaret Anglin has presented to the University, for the use of the students in future dramatic productions, the beautiful settings constructed for her performance in the Greek Theatre of the "Electra" of Sophocles. Included in the gift are the great bronze doors and grilles, the benches, the great staircase, the Greek lamps, the colossal busts of Zeus and Hera, and the scenery representing the interior of a marble-columned hall, painted as a background to be placed behind the great palace doors.

The Associated Students have deeded to the University as a gift land south of Sylvan way and west of College avenue in order to aid in the development of the plan for the construction of a new track in the Hillegass tract. The cost of the land was $31,840.68.

Through the bequest of Miss Helen J. Du Bois, '03, $4,921.69 has been received as endowment for a scholarship. The income of this endowment is to be used by the Regents to pay the expenses, while undertaking courses of study in the University, of such worthy individuals as could not easily, by reason of financial disability, obtain an education in another way.

The Humboldt County Supervisors, the Chamber of Commerce of Humboldt County, and the Ferndale Dairymen's Association have made a grant of $2,000 toward the work of the University Agricultural Advisor for Humboldt County, whose headquarters are at Eureka.

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Dr. Emma Sutro Merritt, as Trustee, has reported the generous action of the original donor of the use of a Special Senior Class Loan Fund of $1,000 for two years in arranging that this loan fund for seniors shall be available for an additional two years, the student borrowers to agree to repay their loans by May 31, 1915.

Mr. Ogden Mills has given $6,000 for the continuance of the work of the D. O. Mills Expedition of the Lick Observatory to the Southern Hemisphere. This work is carried on at the University's "D. O. Mills Observatory" at Santiago, Chili.

Dr. Charles B. Porter, in accepting appointment as Instructor in Dental Porcelain without salary, wrote (as reported to the Regents): "Such service as I have been able to render has been an expression of loyalty which would lose force completely should a salary attach, and, therefore, I beg to continue a volunteer, and to let any available funds be used for equipment or to develop greater efficiency."

The late Dr. William T. Wenzell presented to the Department of Physics a box of so-called "Plucker" tubes for exhibiting the spectra of the contained gases at low pressure when excited by electrical discharge.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION

University Extension work is being carried on during the present year under Director Ira W. Howerth's planning in five different forms—instruction by correspondence, lecture courses, University Extension classes, a Bureau of Municipal Reference, and a Bureau of Public Discussion.

Among the departments in which correspondence instruction is already under way are those of Political Science, Education, Philosophy, Music, Anthropology, Geography, Mathematics, and Zoology.

Evening classes are being conducted in Vallejo and San José for teachers; in Oakland and San Francisco for bank clerks; and at the University (evenings and Saturdays) in accounting, cost accounting, general economics, Greek art, education, etc. Professor Charles E. Rugh is Secretary for Class Instruction.

University Extension lectures in courses of six or twelve are offered to communities throughout the State at a fee of $125 and local expenses for six lectures or $250 for twelve. Such courses are already being given in Santa Barbara, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Ontario, Colusa, Santa Rosa, at the Preston School of Industry, etc.

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The Bureau of Public Discussion, of which the Secretary is Miss Nadine Crump, offers its aid to debating clubs, civic study societies, women's clubs, workingmen's organizations, etc., in the way of suggesting fruitful topics, planning programmes, furnishing outlines, briefs, and bibliographies, or sending debaters from University forensic organizations to aid debating clubs elsewhere in establishing or developing their work.

The Bureau of Municipal Reference, of which Joseph H. Quire is Secretary, seeks to be a clearing-house for information concerning municipal problems and to aid public officials throughout California to obtain access to authoritative information or counsel from various University departments.

THE ADVISOR SYSTEM

Hereafter the faculty advisors assigned to all freshmen as counsellor, guide, and friend will be men from whom they are receiving instruction. This change will, it is hoped, provide a more natural and genuine road to acquaintance and common interest than the former system of appointing advisors without regard to the nature of the freshman's work. The advisor is expected to establish relations of common interest and of good human friendliness and neighborliness with each of his band of fifteen or twenty freshmen. For the women of the freshman class the advisors are chosen from a corps of graduate students and senior women.

VACCINATION REQUIREMENT

The Regents on August 12 again refused admission to the University to Allen F. Williams until such time as he should comply with the rule of the Regents requiring vaccination against smallpox for admission to the University. Application in his behalf had been made by Mr. Jacob M. Blake, attorney for the Anti-Vaccination League. The question of the admission of Mr. Williams without vaccination had been made a test case in the courts and judicial decision had been rendered sustaining the Regents in their right to require vaccination for admission to the University.

Aerological Observatory Suggested

That an aerological observatory should be established by the University was urged in a communication received by the Regents, at their August meeting, from Alexander G. McAdie, who recently resigned his Honorary Lectureship to Meteorology here and has become Professor of Meteorology in Harvard University.

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Philosophical Union

The Philosophical Union will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding by Professor George Holmes Howison by anniversary exercises in May, 1914. The speaker of the occasion will be Josiah Royce, '75, Professor of the History of Philosophy in Harvard University.

Appointments

(Note.—Unless otherwise specified, the following appointments, resignations, and promotions date from July 1, 1913.)

At meetings of the Regents on August 12 and September 9, 1913, appointments were made as follows:

Professor of Rural Institutions, Elwood Mead, from a date to be determined later.

Assistant Professor of Agricultural Education (from October 1, 1913): Olly J. Kern, heretofore County Superintendent of Schools in Winnebago County, Illinois.

Assistant Professor of Farm Mechanics, Frank LeRoy Peterson, from January 1, 1914.

Assistant Professor of Landscape Gardening, Ralph Tellant Stevens, from October 1, 1913.

Assistant Professor of Plant Pathology in the Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture and the Citrus Experiment Station, Howard S. Fawcett, from September 1, 1913.

Assistant Professor of Soil Chemistry and Bacteriology, Leslie Theodore Sharp.

Lecturer in Domestic Art Education, Miss Eleanor D. Toaz.

Lecturer in University Extension, Francis Henry Bird.

Instructors: Harry Percy Barrows, Agricultural Education, from August 1, 1913; Dr. G. E. Gibson, Chemistry; H. H. Douglas, Dairy Husbandry, from September 15; E. B. Lamare, French, from August 1 to December 31; Reuben Simpkin Tour, Gas Engineering; Harry Noble Wright, Mathematics (note: also in charge of correspondence instruction in mathematics); Miss Josephine Emma Davis, Nutrition; Dr. G. V. McLaughlin, Prosthetic Dentistry, from August 1, 1913; Dr. E. H. Mauk, Prosthetic Dentistry, from August 1, 1913; Dr. Saxon B. Scott, Prosthetic Technic; William C. Matthews, Scientific Illustration, from October 1; Howard Brett Frost, Instructor in the Graduate School of Tropical Agriculture and Assistant in the Citrus Experiment Station, from October 1, 1913.

Instructors in the University Farm School: Clarence M. Titus, Mathematics; William H. Arnold, Chemistry and Botany.

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Secretary of the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction (in the University Extension Division), Clarence Irving Lewis; Secretary of the Bureau of Information and Municipal Reference in the University Extension Division, Joseph H. Quire; General Organizer in the Department of University Extension and Secretary of the Bureau of Public Discussion, Miss Nadine Crump; Stenographer in the University Extension Office, Jesse Evan Armstrong; (Mr. Armstrong is also to teach stenography and typewriting to University Extension students.)

Assistant Superintendent of the University Hospital, John A. Kluge.

Museum Assistant in the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, Miss Margaret W. Wythe, '11, from September 1, 1913.

Assistant in Agricultural Extension and Agricultural Advisor: Andrew Hansen Christiansen, with headquarters for 1913–14 at Eureka, Humboldt County.

Assistants: Virgil Clay Bryant, Agricultural Extension; George W. Hendry, Agronomy, from August 1, 1913; Lawrence Knox Marshall, Agronomy, from September 1, 1913; W. L. Argo, Chemistry; W. J. Barnhill, Chemistry; G. E. K. Branch, Chemistry; O. L. Brauer, Chemistry; W. N. Davis, Chemistry; E. D. Eastman, Chemistry; Dr. H. Ehrenberg, Chemistry; T. B. Hine, Chemistry; Carl Iddings, Chemistry; W. N. Lacey, Chemistry; R. L. Sebastian, Chemistry; L. W. Stebbings, Chemistry; T. D. Stewart, Chemistry; J. T. Winkler, Chemistry; Holmes Beckwith, Economics; Francis Henry Bird, Economics; Carl A. Bergmann, in the Lick Observatory; J. F. Graham, Physics; Otis A. O. Sharp, Physiology; Arthur Howard Hendrickson, Pomology; Wylie Everet Lloyd, Poultry Husbandry; John Edward Guernsey, Soil Technology; Cleo Jack Zinn, Soil Technology; Milan E. Hunt, Zoology; Scientific Assistant in Zoology, A. L. Barrows.

Teaching Fellows: Oscar Lanzendorf, Astronomy; C. T. Dowell, Chemistry; Robert Chaney Woodburn, History.

Fellow in Forensics, George Armistead Work, from August 1, 1913.

Agricultural Appointments

At the May meeting of the Regents appointments were made as follows in Agriculture (from July 1, 1913, unless otherwise specified):

Assistant Professor of Veterinary Science, Dr. Walter Jennings Taylor.

Assistant Professor of Pomology, B. B. Pratt.

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Instructor in Citriculture, Ira J. Condit.

Lecturer in Hygiene at the University Farm, Dr. W. E. Bates.

Instructor in Insect Industries (at the University Farm), L. J. Nickels.

Assistants: E. E. Voorhies, Animal Husbandry; R. E. Campbell, Entomology; O. W. Israelsen, Irrigation (in co-operation with the Office of Experiment Stations); W. F. Oglesby, Viticulture; Buttermaker, H. L. Hurst; Cora J. Hill, Dairy Testing.

Foremen: at the Forestry Station at Chico, J. N. Moore; at the Santa Monica Forestry Station, F. E. Hill; Orchard Foreman, E. F. Grauel; Poultry Foreman at the University Farm, H. J. Guise; Foreman of Repairs at the University Farm, J. Jacobsen.

Cashier at the University Farm, Effie Powers.

Assistant Matron and Nurse, University Farm Dormitory, Flora B. Starn.

Promotions and Changes of Title

(From July 1, 1913)

C. E. Rugh, from Professor of Education to Professor of Education and Secretary of the Bureau of Class Instruction.

Dr. T. C. Burnett, to be Assistant Professor of Physiology.

Resignations

(The following resignations are from June 30, 1913, unless otherwise specified).

Professor of Animal Husbandry, F. R. Marshall.

Associate Professor of Experimental Agronomy and Agricultural Technology, George Wright Shaw.

Assistant Professor of Agricultural Education, F. L. Griffin.

Assistant Professor of Insurance and Mathematics, Albert W. Whitney, to take effect August 1, 1913. Professor Whitney has resigned to become Assistant Actuary for the Insurance Department of the State of New York.

Assistant Professor of Physiology, A. R. Moore.

Conductor of Farmers' Institutes in Southern California, J. B. Neff.

Instructors: P. F. Faragher, Chemistry; Dr. Fred E. Hart, Dental Technics; J. C. Bridwell, Entomology; Ernest G. Atkin, French; Dr. J. E. Schaefer, Prosthetic Technic (in the Dental Department.)

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Senior Assistant in the University Library, Miss Sarah S. Oddie, from July 31.

Martin Kellogg Fellow in the Lick Observatory, Dr. Keivin Burns.

Demonstrator in Operative Technic (in the Dental Department), Dr. Saxon B. Scott.

Assistants: V. Petrovsky, Engineering Mechanics; William Gee, Genetics; A. F. Wagner, Physics.

Leave of Absence

Dr. Joseph D. Hodgen, Professor of Operative Dentistry, for 1913–14.

Deaths

William Theodore Wenzell, Ph.D., M.D., Phar.M., Emeritus Professor of Chemistry in the Department of Pharmacy, died July 31, 1913.

Dr. John Swett, Honorary Lecturer in Education, and chief moulder of the school system of California, died August 23, at Martinez. The degree of LL.D. had been conferred upon him by the University at the previous Commencement.

LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY

July 7.—W. B. Herms, Assistant Professor of Parasitology, "The Practical Aspects of Parasitology."

July 9.—Dr. Romilda Paroni, Lecturer in Hygiene and Medical Examiner, "Eugenics: Through Legislation and Education."

July 14.—Dr. William F. Snow, Secretary of the California State Board of Health, "The Average Citizen and the Health Officer."

July 14.—Miss Ednah A. Rich, President of the State Normal School of Manual Arts and Home Economics, at Santa Barbara, "Vocational Guidance."

July 16.—Dr. Romilda Paroni, "Eugenics: Through Education and Legislation."

July 21.—Professor Myer E. Jaffa, Director of the State Food and Drug Laboratory, "How the New Food and Drug Legislation Affects the Consumer."

July 22.—Arthur P. McKinlay, "The Frogs of Aristophanes."

July 25.—Dr. Loye Holmes Miller, head of the Department of Biology of the Los Angeles State Normal School, "The Music of Birds."

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July 27.—I. B. Stoughton Holburn, Oxford-Cambridge Extension Lecturer in Art, "Sophocles, the Greatest of All Human Teachers." (This lecture was given in the Greek Theatre on a Sunday afternoon before an audience of several thousand people.)

July 28.—Dr. T. C. McCleave, Chairman of the Alameda County Medical Milk Commission, "Pure Milk in the Small City."

July 30.—Charles Gilman Hyde, Professor of Sanitary Engineering, "Public Water Supplies and the Public Health."

August 26.—H. W. Gleason of Boston, "Glacier National Park and the Canadian Rockies" (under the auspices of the Sierra Club.)

August 28.—W. Mulford, Professor of Forestry at Cornell, "The Opportunities of Forestry as a Profession."

August 29 and September 5.—Charles Mills Gayley, Professor of English, "The Electra of Sophocles" (in the Greek Theatre.)

August 29.—Eugen Neuhaus, critical comment on the designs submitted in the St. Francis Wood poster competition.

September 4.—John Steven McGroarty, author of "The Mission Play," "California, its History and Romance, and 'The Mission Play.'"

September 4.—John Bates Clark, Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the annual Weinstock Lecture on "Social Justice without Socialism."

September 10.—S. Richard Fuller of Boston, "The Ides of March and Pompey's Theatre."

September 11.—Dr. Sydney Gulick, "Some Phases of the Japanese Problem" (before the Education Club.)

September 12.—Harold L. Leupp, Associate Librarian, "How to Use the Library."

September 17.—Louis Levy, Chief of Local Publicity of the Exposition, "The Panama-Pacific Exposition and the Panama Canal." (Illustrated with the stereopticon and with motion pictures.)

September 23.—Oluf J. Heinemann, "Notes on Bird Photography" (before the Cooper Ornithological Club.)

September 23.—E. P. Dargiz, "Co-operation in Marketing."

September 25.—Dean David P. Barrows, "The Establishment of the American System of Education in the Philippines" (before the Education Club.)

September 29.—Dr. F. L. Gulick, Professor in the Imperial University, Kyoto (before the Cosmopolitan Club.)

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Philosophical Union Lectures

September 5.—Arthur O. Lovejoy, Professor of Philosophy in Johns Hopkins University, "Bergson and Romantic Evolution."

September 12.—Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Romantic Evolutionism and the Philosophy of Religion."

September 19.—Professor George M. Stratton, "The Problems and Aims of Present-Day Psychology."

Lectures on Public Hygiene and Preventive Medicine

At the University Hospital in San Francisco.

August 30.—Dr. M. W. Glover, Chief Quarantine Officer at Angel Island, "Legal Mechanism (Federal) for the Control of Disease."

September 6.—Dr. J. N. Force, "Administrative Mechanism (Municipal) for the Control of Disease."

September 20, 27.—Charles Gilman Hyde, Professor of Sanitary Engineering, "Water Supply and Sewage Disposal."

September 31.—Dr. M. E. Jaffa, Director of the Pure Food and Drug Laboratory, "Pure Food."

LECTURES ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM

August 25.—Introductory lecture by Charles A. Kofoid, Professor of Zoology.

September 1.—Professor Robert O. Moody, "Physiological Effects of Alcohol."

September 8.—Professor S. J. Holmes, "Alcohol and Heredity."

September 15.—Dr. A. M. Meads, "Alcohol and the Public Health."

September 22.—Professor Jessica B. Peixotto, "The Relation of Liquor to Poverty and Crime."

September 29.—Professor Thomas H. Reed, "The Relation of Liquor to Politics."

LEAGUE OF THE REPUBLIC LECTURES

August 26.—Professor Thomas H. Reed, "The History of American Immigration."

September 2.—Harry Edsell, Immigration Commissioner of California, "The Status of Immigration in California."

September 16.—Dr. Sydney Gulick, "Japanese Immigration."

September 30.—Ng Poon Chew, Editor of "Chung Sai Yat Po," "Chinese Immigration."

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LECTURES AT THE MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

(At the Museum, on Parnassus avenue, San Francisco, Sunday afternoons.)

August 17.—E. W. Gifford, "Songs and Myths of the Sierras."

August 31.—Professor A. L. Kroeber, "Writing Words by Machine."

September 7.—Professor T. T. Waterman, "The Organs of Speech."

September 14.—Professor A. L. Kroeber, "Watching the Tongue at Work."

September 21.—Professor T. T. Waterman, "Simplified Spelling."

September 28.—Professor A. L. Kroeber, "The Phonograph and Human Speech."

SUMMER SESSION EVENING COURSES

A feature of the Summer Session was the offering of various series of evening lectures, available for persons employed throughout the day. Among these were a series of lectures by Professor O. M. Washburn on Greek art; by Professor A. L. Kroeber and by Professor Hutton Webster of the University of Nebraska on anthropology and modern life; by Mr. I. B. Stoughton Holborn, Oxford-Cambridge Extension Lecturer on Art, on art in daily life; by Miss Alice L. Fleenor on parliamentary law; by Thomas Harrison Reed on contemporary political questions; by A. W. Ryder on ancient Hindu thought; and lectures by various speakers on public health.

UNIVERSITY MEETINGS

July 18.—David Prescott Barrows, Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Academic Faculties.

August 29.—Walter MacArthur, Editor of the "Pacific Coast Seaman's Journal" and United States Shipping Commissioner, and Dr. Carl Kelsey, Professor of Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania.

September 12.—Professor Henry Morse Stephens and Professor Herbert E. Bolton. The addresses of the occasion were commemorative of Admission Day.

September 26.—Hon. Charles D. Heywood, Mayor of Berkeley, and Dr. Milton T. Farmer, '09, Superior Judge of Kern County.

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THE HALF-HOUR OF MUSIC

(In the Greek Theatre, Sunday afternoons)

July 6.—Mrs. Therese Oliver-Pixley, soprano, and Mrs. Dwight V. Ross, pianist.

July 13.—Miss Lillian Sieger, cornetist, with M. M. I. Myers, accompanist; and Mrs. Edna Barth Wolfe, whistler, with Miss Birdie Mae Reed, accompanist.

July 20.—Mrs. Charles Poulter (soprano), assisted by Miss Ethel Isaacs (violin), Mr. Charles Neale (flute), Mr. D. P. Hughes (organ), and Mrs. Robert H. Hughes (piano).

July 27.—A programme of music by California composers, rendered by Californians. E. G. Stricklen, pianist, Lowell M. Redfield, baritone, and Mrs. Mabel Hill Redfield, accompanist.

August 24.—The Columbia Park Boys' Club Band, directed by Conrad Horst.

August 31.—E. G. Stricklen, pianist (Assistant in Music in the University of California), Stephen Wyckoff, Jr., '14, baritone.

September 7.—Austin Willard Sperry, baritone, and Harris Allen, accompanist.

September 14.—The Vested Choir of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, and Miss Beatrice Lucretia Sherwood, pianist, under the direction of Mr. Roscoe Warren Lucy.

September 21.—Miss Marie-Estelle Millette, soprano, and Miss Eleanor Morris, accompanist.

September 28.—Mrs. Florence Le Roy-Chase, soprano, Mr. Arthur Conradi, violinist, and Mr. Frank Moss, pianist.

OTHER MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC EVENTS

July 5.—University Recital, with music by Mrs. Charles Louis Seeger (violin), George Bowden (tenor), and Professor Charles Louis Seeger.

July 8.—University Recital, with music by Mrs. Charles Louis Seeger, Jr., violin, Mr. Herbert Riley, violoncello, Mr. Warren D. Allen, piano, and Mr. George L. Foote, piano.

July 9.—Orchestral and Choral Concert in the Greek Theatre, given in connection with the Annual Convention of the Music Teachers' Association of California. Soloists: Mme. Edna Darch, dramatic soprano, Mr. Homer Henley, baritone. The orchestra

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was directed by Choragus Paul Steindorff. The chorus of the Sacramento Oratorio Society was directed by Homer Henley, with Mrs. George A. Cummings as accompanist.

July 12.—University Recital, with music by Mrs. Charles Louis Seeger, Jr., violin, Herbert Riley, violoncello, Warren D. Allen, piano, and George W. Foote, piano.

July 16.—Organ Recital. Dr. H. J. Stewart, of St. Dominic's Church, San Francisco, assisted by Mrs. Carrie Brown Dexter, soprano.

July 19.—University Recital, with music by Mrs. Charles Louis Seeger, Jr., violin, Mrs. Marie Price, soprano, and Mrs. Oscar Mansfeldt, piano.

July 21.—Interpretative Recital, Miss Edith Coburn Noyes, in Charles Reade's comedy, "Peg Woffington."

July 26.—University Recital, with music by Mrs. Charles Louis Seeger, Jr., violin, Miss Helen Colburn Heath, soprano, and Mrs. Oscar Mansfeldt, piano.

July 30.—A dramatic reading of Percy Mackaye's play "Tomorrow," given by Mrs. Herbert Sanford Howard.

THE "ELECTRA" OF SOPHOCLES

The "Electra" of Sophocles was produced in the Greek Theatre by Margaret Anglin on September 6, in the Plumptre translation, with orchestral and choral music especially composed for the occasion by William Furst, and with costumes, accessories, and color scheme designed by Livingston Platt. The audience completely filled the Greek Theatre. Of the long series of notable productions which have enriched the traditions of the Greek Theatre in the decade since its dedication, nothing has been more thrillingly beautiful and more nearly perfect.

EXHIBITIONS IN ARCHITECTURE HALL

An exhibit, changed weekly and open to the public, is now maintained in the new exhibition hall of the Architecture Building, just inside the Euclid avenue entrance of the campus. Recent exhibitions were as follows:

August 25–30.—The designs submitted in the competition for $1,000 in prizes for a poster for St. Francis Wood.

Sept. 1–6.—Etchings by George T. Plowman.

Sept. 8–13.—Photographs of French Renaissance architecture.

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Sept. 15–20.—Drawings submitted in the competition for the European traveling scholarship, offered by the Architects' League of the Pacific Coast; also an exhibition of photographs of European architecture.

HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS' CONVENTION

A successful and largely attended convention of the High School Teachers' Association of California was held at the University during the week of July 5. During the same week the Music Teachers' Association of California held its sessions at the University. On July 25 and 26 the Physical Education Association of the Pacific Coast held its second annual convention at the University, and among other things inspected the work of the public playground which was a feature of the Summer Session.

CONFERENCE ON BOVINE TUBERCULOSIS

A conference on the problems of bovine tuberculosis in California was held at the University in July. Among those who attended the conference were Dr. Mazyck P. Ravenel, Director of the State Hygienic Laboratory of Wisconsin and Professor of Hygiene in the University of Wisconsin, and Dr. Veranus A. Moore, Director of the New York State Veterinary College, of Cornell University, together with a number of the leading veterinarians, live-stock growers, etc., of California. The conclusion of the conference was that actually great financial benefit to live-stock growers and dairymen in California would result from the application of various recently developed methods in the way of sanitary protection for herds against the spread of tuberculosis, beside the protection to public health.

UNDERGRADUATE MATTERS

At the opening University Meeting of the year, the Associated Students voted to cable the following message: "Benj. Ide Wheeler, Dresdner Bank, Berlin, Germany: Students including 1500 freshmen sorely needing admonition send greetings from our first University Meeting. Associated Students." To this came the following cabled reply: "Munich, Germany, August 19. Mansel P. Griffiths, President Associated Students, University of California. Message from my students cheers and delights me. My love to them all. I am impatient to be with them again. Benj. Ide Wheeler."

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In future blind students enrolled in the University may, in cases of need, have the aid of readers to assist them in their studies. The policy of paying for aid to blind students from the funds of the University was approved by the Regents on August 12 as in harmony with the spirit of legislation adopted by the last Legislature.

W. W. Ferrier, Jr., is this year's editor of the California Law Review, published by the School of Jurisprudence. Professor O. K. McMurray remains Editor-in-chief.

Some forty aspirants for positions on the staff of the Daily Californian are meeting Wednesday evening of each week with Professor Chauncey W. Wells for training in accuracy, form, and conscience.

F. Dorsey Stephens, '13, has gone to Oxford as the 1913 Rhodes Scholar from California.

"Forensic" is the name of a new debating society now organized by the women students. It is affiliated with the Women's Parliamentary Society in the Parliamentary Union.

E. L. Sherrill was elected president of the Senior class, G. E. Jones president of the Junior class, L. V. Eames president of the Sophomore class, and L. M. Bell president of the Freshman class.

A mounted detachment of sixteen Sophomores is a new feature this year of military instruction.

A forward step has been taken by the students through the adoption by the Executive Committee of the Associated Students of a rule that beginning with August, 1914, California freshmen will not be eligible to compete on 'Varsity teams. Stanford has not as yet taken any action toward the adoption of such a rule.

A University of California Club team was organized from among veteran players to give competition to the Rugby team during the fall football season.

The California-Stanford football game will be played on the Stanford field Saturday, November 8. During October and November an "all-star" Rugby team from New Zealand will play fourteen games in California, including three games with the University of California.

The freshmen defeated the sophomores in the annual pushball contest on August 23 by 3 to 0, and won two out of three heats in the tug-of-war. Several hundred men of each class joined in the contest.

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The "Amador," the old ferry boat which for eight years was anchored in the Oakland Estuary as training quarters for the crew, while being moved to a new mooring suffered the fate of the one-hoss shay. New quarters will be established on the shore.

Carleton H. Parker, '04, exploded a bomb in the Californian with a communication criticising the system of organized yelling. He charged lack of spontaneity in "rooting" and in applause, and particularly criticised a system under which an official yell-leader should tell the assembled entire student body when to begin applauding a University Meeting speaker, and when to cease applause. After much discussion in the Californian, the senior men, at Senior Singing on September 4, agreed on the following expression of sentiment regarding organized yelling:

"At University Meetings: There shall be no led applause and no led cheering for speakers.

"At Rallies: The speaker shall be introduced by a cheer but applause shall continue unled and unforced for as long or as short a time as the audience desires.

"At Games: During the play, when it is the manifest desire of the bleachers to cheer or sing, the yell-leader shall lead in cheers or songs. But the bleachers need not expect the yell-leader to lead cheers or songs when there is no desire on the part of the bleachers to cheer or sing."

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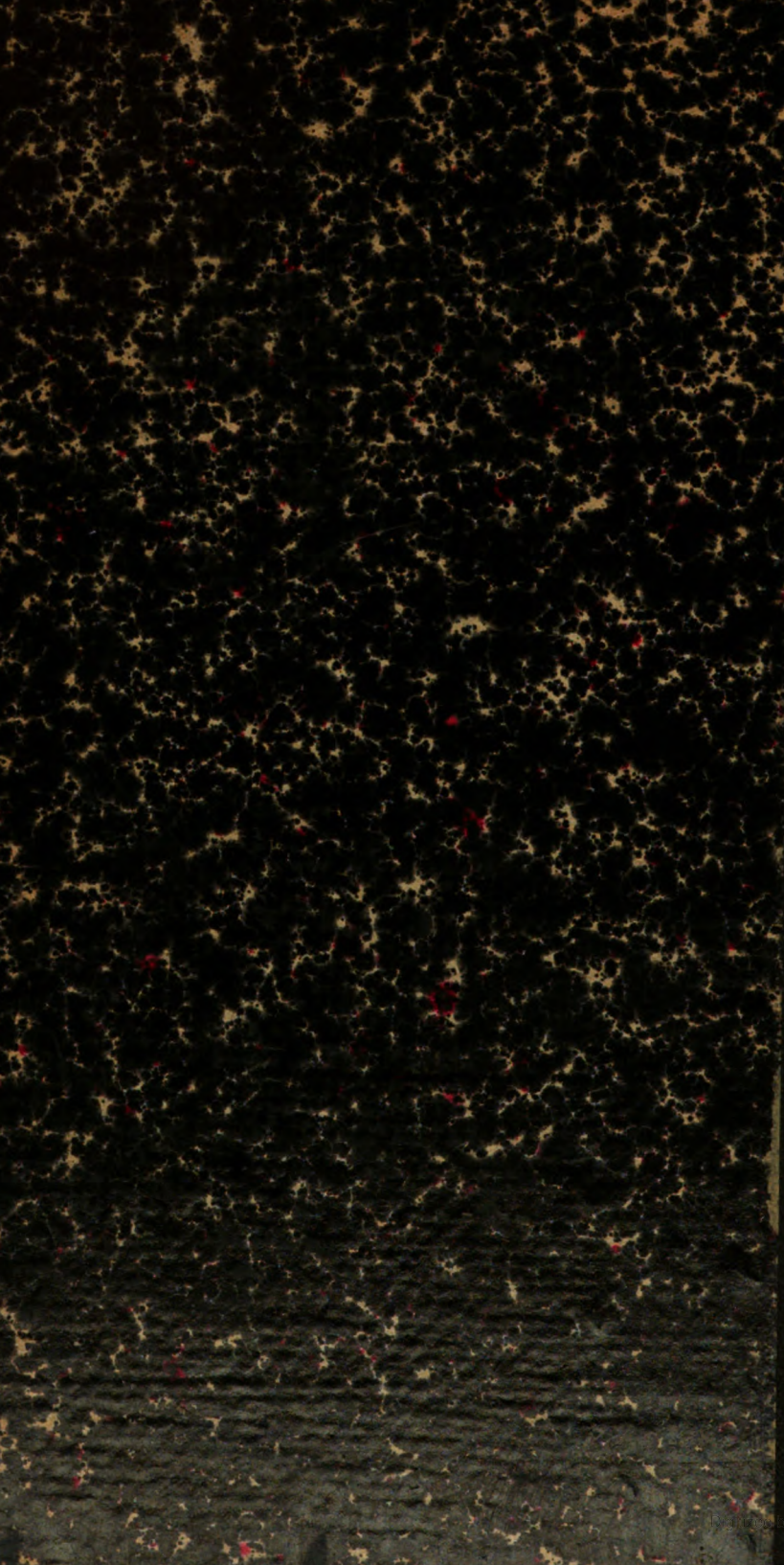
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